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**STATE ELECTION SERVICES  
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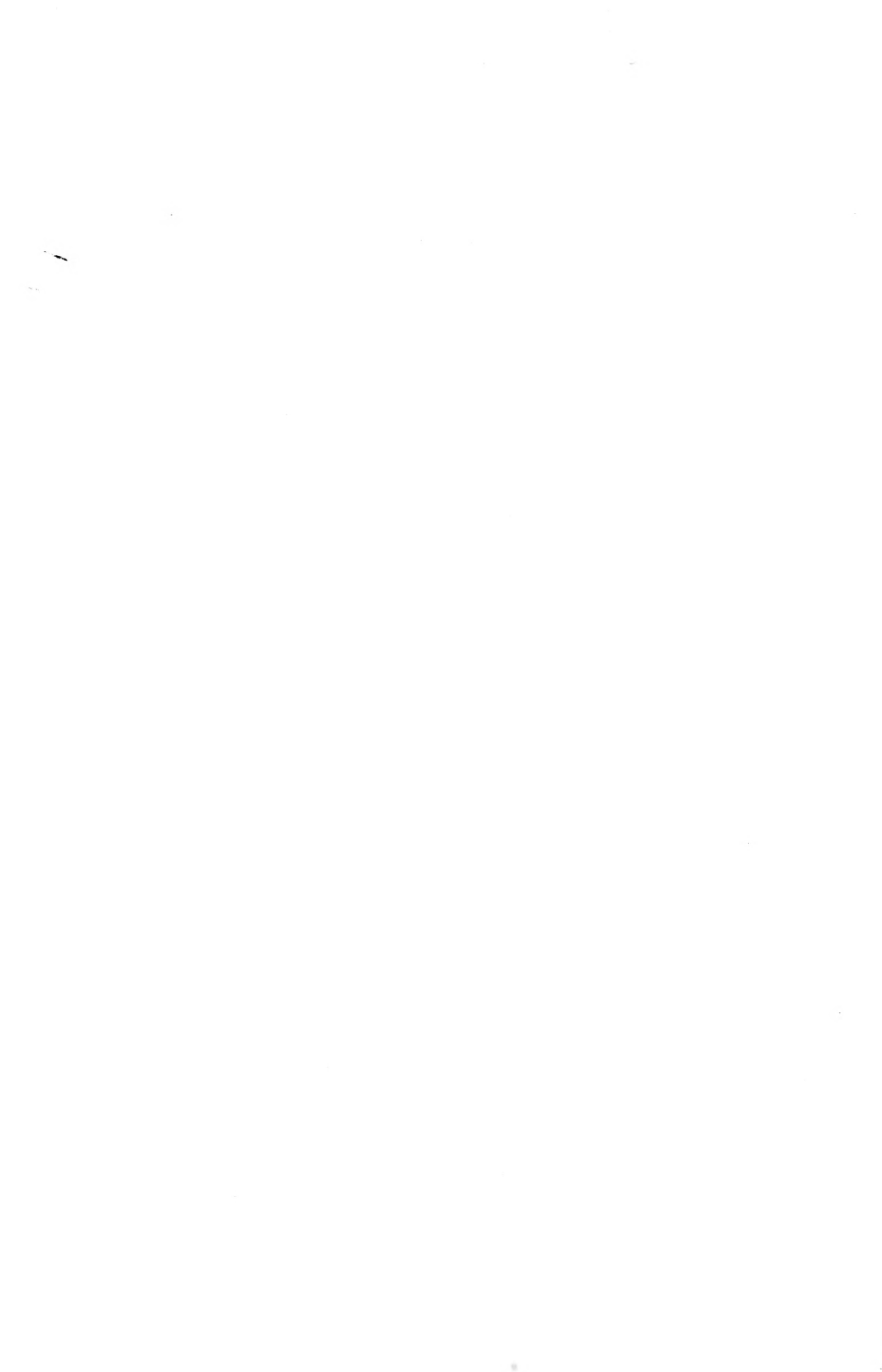
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Oregon also provides two other unique services. The Secretary of State publishes a summary report of campaign contributions and expenditures, which lists gross receipts and expenditures for each reporting candidate and committee and itemizes each contribution of \$50 or more. Oregon also provides a tax credit to encourage political contributions.

This publication was made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation to the Citizens' Research Foundation. Dr. Balmer is Dubach Professor of Political Science at Lewis and Clark College in Portland.

WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Elections cost money. This is an obvious, widely discussed and usually deplored fact. Primary concern has been with the costs of election campaigns — who gives and who gets how much. Scholarly research has shed increasing light on the ebb and flow of money in politics. But much mystery and concern still remain.

Since elections are an inherent part of the democratic process, the role of government in reducing their costs and in encouraging or even providing support for campaigns has often been studied. But little expansion of governmental support has resulted, frequently because of fear of excessive government intrusion into this obviously sensitive policy area. Neglected in this discussion is the fact that governments are already heavily involved through their obligation to hold and conduct elections. A major cost of campaigns and elections is the conduct of the elections themselves. The scope of these costs is usually overlooked in evaluating proposed expansions of government services regarding campaigns. Conscientious legislators and administrators have always sought to secure efficient, convenient and economical election procedures. In recent years private firms peddling a variety of hard and soft wares, especially but not exclusively related to vote tabulation, have helped to increase the level of sophistication of election cost analysis.

The present study is an effort to explore the operation and cost of certain public services designed to increase voter awareness of election issues and personalities. In attempting to assess the benefit-cost aspects of these public efforts, it is first necessary to develop the typical costs already incurred in conducting elections. If this can be done, the increased costs of providing additional services can be seen in their proper context, not in the vacuum opponents of such services imply by merely presenting the additional expense as if such were singularly new public services.

The long-established but not widely copied Oregon practice of publishing, largely at state expense, an official voters' publicity pamphlet is described, analyzed and evaluated in the key section of this study. Placed in its proper context as another public service, among many that are required by a constitutional democracy, the voters' pamphlet is found to be a rather useful and somewhat inexpensive operation. The more limited experiences of other states are also reviewed.

In addition a brief review of other Oregon services regarding elections is provided. Arrangement for state publication of summaries of campaign receipts and expenditures and the filing of more complete reports are described.

Finally, a progress report is given of Oregon's most recent innovation in the election field. This is the operation of the 1969 law permitting an offset against the state income tax for a portion of campaign contributions. The experience is new, and there should be widespread interest in this direct but non-interfering aid to political campaign finance.

## **II. ELECTION ADMINISTRATION: REQUIREMENTS, SERVICES AND COSTS**

### **The Scope of the Election Process in America**

Elections are both a basic and a major administrative responsibility, especially for state and local governments. The United States has over 80,000 units of local government electing between 500,000 and 800,000 citizens to public office. There are so many units of government that a regular "census" is taken by the Department of Commerce.

In addition to electing officers, a large number of these units also conduct elections on bond issues, tax levies, tax bases and various other measures. And these units may actually hold repeated elections in short periods of time to secure operating revenue. Added to the above are primary elections for strictly party organization offices including in some states precinct committeemen and women, delegates to convention, and presidential electors. Elections are also held for grazing district boards in public land states, various anti-poverty program boards and "model city" boards. If there are shortcomings to the American democracy, it is not for lack of elections, *per se*.

### **Basic Components of the Election Process**

Although the particular variations and combinations of election procedures are almost beyond count, there are four basic components of the election process.

#### **REGISTRATION OF QUALIFIED VOTERS**

Without discussing the constitutional, legal and philosophical issues involved in answering the question "who should vote?", it can be agreed that some government agency must have the responsibility of maintaining an official list of qualified voters, however that may be established, for the several units of government in which the voter is entitled to participate. While in some nations the government prepares an official register by taking a "census" and a few American jurisdictions allow the would-be voter simply to present himself at the polls and claim the right to cast his ballot, the American pattern generally has placed the obligation on the voter first to register himself. In some cases this can be a difficult process,

because of conscious efforts to discourage some persons from voting. In others extensive efforts are made to register qualified persons. These may include provisions for deputy registrars at banks, supermarkets, schools, places of employment and even mobile units on the streets. Costs for registration will vary accordingly.

Maintaining an accurate list of qualified voters in a mobile society is a major administrative problem. Solutions range from requiring the voter to re-register before every election to dropping voters who have failed to vote in a number of successive elections. Health departments report deaths to elections officials and the return of election notices by postal authorities may also serve as evidence of the voter having moved and no longer being qualified to vote in a particular jurisdiction.

## QUALIFICATIONS OF CANDIDATES AND MEASURES

Constitutions and statutes spell out the requirements that must be met to qualify a candidate or measure for a place on the ballot. Write-in candidates can complicate the process somewhat. Ordinarily, this is a fairly routine operation which involves little discretion for the election administrator. He can, with a little imagination, facilitate the operation to the advantage of the public, the candidates and the media. For example, "Filing Day", the last day to file for public office in Oregon, has become a major public event with hundreds of candidates for state offices, their well-wishers, party leaders, lobbyists, journalists and the curious gathering in the State Capitol. The election officials provide a giant scoreboard listing the offices and the candidates so those present can keep a running account of the action.

On occasion, election administrators may be given discretionary authority in qualifying candidates. Another Oregon example is the responsibility given the Secretary of State to place on the primary ballot the names of persons widely advocated for the office of President even without their consent unless they sign an affidavit that they do not seek the office. Election administrators must also certify candidates nominated by less frequently used methods available for "third party" and independent candidates. Verifying signatures on petitions that are submitted to file or nominate a candidate or to sponsor an initiative, referendum or recall can be a major duty. Thousands of names must be checked, often in a very short time, and the results certified.

## PROVISIONS FOR SECRET BALLOTING

Election officials must establish precinct boundaries, find polling places, select and train election boards, publish official notices of the election, prepare official ballots and ensure that the voter can secretly and

speedily cast his ballot. Each part of the process can be done in a variety of ways and, once again, the combinations are numerous. Since the possibilities of error and inconvenience, if not corruption, are substantial, close attention to detail can often be found in statutes and administrative regulations.

Some of the various patterns adopted by different states have their political and partisan implications: the form of the ballot, the composition of the election boards, the rotation of names on the ballot, the speed with which the voters are serviced are among the more obvious.

Commercial promoters of various voting machines and equipment also have an impact on the election process in a particular locale. The size of the governmental unit, population density and geographic distance, prior investment in equipment and the continuing improvement of technology are all relevant. No one system of casting votes is used in America or can be demonstrated to be best.

Absentee voting presents a special challenge to the administrator to make it convenient yet ensure its secrecy. Mailed ballots are attracting increasing attention as a possible pattern for other voters than absentees.

## SPEEDY AND ACCURATE TABULATION

Voters, candidates and the media of communication all are eager to learn the results of an election. Again, statutes and customs vary regarding the release of partial and complete returns and permissible administrative cooperation with media. Accuracy is obviously more important than speed since the integrity of the democratic system is at stake.

The costs, speed and accuracy of various voting systems have been studied and debated at considerable length. Recounts provide something of a test of various systems. Recounts in the the 1968 Oregon contest between Wayne Morse and Robert Packwood for United States Senator resulted in very few errors being uncovered regardless of the form of ballot and tabulation used. Hand counted paper ballots, mark sensing ballots, punch card ballots and voting machines had been used by various counties. Recounts do emphasize the importance of a paper ballot, regardless of how it is tabulated, as a permanent record, an important check against irregularities. The 1969 session of the Oregon Legislature outlawed the "voting machine" which mechanically tabulates total votes for individual candidates without leaving a recountable separate ballot for each voter.

## **Responsibilities for Election Administration**

### **CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS**

It is not necessary to recite the provisions of the United States Constitution which pertain to the right to vote or review Congressional enactments providing for federal referees and registrars in certain situations. Aside from these important protections of the right to vote and to have one's vote counted equally, federal corrupt practices legislation and federal responsibility for the District of Columbia and certain territories, routine election administration comes under the jurisdiction of the fifty states and/or their thousands of subordinate governments.

### **STATUTORY PATTERNS**

An ideal pattern of election administration would place primary responsibility for the entire state in one officer. This officer would then administer the state statutes with a judicious blend of uniformity in those matters essential to the integrity of the ballot and diversity in matters of local convenience. In practice, the usual pattern is something less than this. Legal complications arise from the degree of state control over home rule cities and counties and the almost impenetrable maze of laws governing special districts. These statutes, of course, reflect constellations of interests and protected power that cannot be ignored. Thus, the student of election administration must often search many different sections of the state statutes to find an accurate picture of election practices.

### **ADMINISTRATIVE LEVELS**

The usual administrative pattern, if not the precise legal hierarchy, begins with a state officer, often the Secretary of State or his subordinate, who, at least, has responsibility for the election of state and federal officers and, at most, is "the chief elections officer" of the state. His duties will put him in constant contact with, if not in supervision of, county election officials since many "state" officials such as legislators, judges and prosecutors are elected on a county basis.

The county elections officer, known by different titles of "clerk", "auditor" or "registrar of elections", is usually the key official in the actual operations of registration, voting, counting, recounting and certifying signatures. It is usually the county that sends the basic data to the Secretary of State for official certification, provides poll books, and conducts or supervises elections for special districts and cities within the county.

Depending upon state law, cities and special districts may conduct the entire election operation for themselves. City elections may be required to

“piggyback” on regular elections run by the state and county or may deliberately be held at separate times. Special elections may be conducted independently or with partial aid from the county or be completely administered by the county.

Thus, administrative responsibility for elections may be quite widely scattered. Regardless of the laws, considerable cooperation and goodwill across jurisdictional lines is required.

## SPECIAL SITUATIONS

While not unique, or perhaps even unusual, there are a number of election situations that are not routine. States providing for statewide or local initiative, referenda or recall petitions must have these checked for proper form and authentic signatures. Serious administrative problems can arise when several different petitions are filed at the last moment. Sheer physical access to the official registration list to check signatures may place an upper limit on the number that can be checked and certified in that limited period after the deadline for filing and before the deadline for certification. Since there is no way of anticipating how many proposals are going to seek to qualify, election administration officials find that staffing and budgeting become very difficult indeed.

Recounts are also frequent enough to merit some attention. While some jurisdictions provide for an automatic recount at public expense if the margin is very close, the usual pattern is to require the challenger to post a bond and to pay the costs of the recount if his loss is verified. Frequent recounts could undermine public confidence in the election process as well as the budgets of election administrators. But the right of recount is important to candidates and voters and serves as an audit on administrative accuracy.

“Special elections” can encompass elections to fill vacancies caused by death or resignation, recall elections, and special measures referred to the voters by governing bodies. They can be statewide but are usually local. School districts, cities and other units often find it necessary to secure voter approval for bond issues, tax levies, tax bases, special budgets, annexations, charters, amendments, and new programs. Sometimes these measures, when defeated, must be resubmitted, perhaps in modified form, in a matter of a few weeks. Meeting the legal requirements of public notice, preparing the ballots, securing polling places and employing election boards becomes a major undertaking. When small units, such as a water or fire district, undertake these responsibilities, the procedures may be very casual and lax, if not illegal. For example, inadequate notice, informal identification of voters or an insufficient number of proper ballots have been discovered.



## **Patterns and Costs of Election Administration: A Case Study of Oregon**

Oregon is a state of over two million inhabitants, or about one percent of the national population, scattered over a vast area but mostly concentrated in the urbanized Willamette Valley and especially in the Portland Metropolitan area. It has the range of situations one might expect to encounter almost anywhere in the nation.

### **STATE SERVICES AND COSTS**

Many of the features of the "Oregon System" such as the initiative, referendum, recall, direct election of United States Senators, closed primary, and the measures and candidates voters' pamphlets date back to the early part of the twentieth century. More recently, a thorough revision of election laws was made in 1957 following a two-year study by a state legislative interim committee. Additional amendments have been made at every session since then. The 1957 statute states: "The Secretary of State is the chief election officer of this state, and it is his responsibility to obtain and maintain uniformity in the application, operation and interpretation of the election laws." (O.R.S. 246.110)

"He is responsible for all state and district-wide elections and through the county clerk he has the same role in the county elections and in 37 special service districts in which elections are held."

As chief elections officer the Secretary of State, or in reality an appointed civil servant, is to give directions and instructions to county clerks including holding conferences for them before the elections. He has prepared a comprehensive "County Clerks Manual for Elections" to ensure uniformity in compliance with state laws. The state sells certain required supplies to the counties at nominal costs.

State statutes direct the Secretary of State to prepare and distribute in "convenient form" compilations and digests of the election laws. In addition to a 193-page volume containing all of the statutes, four separate manuals were published in 1966-1968:

<u>Copies</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Title</u>
50,000	I	<i>Voters Manual (18 pages)</i>
12,500	II	<i>Manual for Election Boards (20 pages)</i>
5,000	III	<i>Manual for Candidates and Political Parties (75 pages)</i>
2,000	IV	<i>Manual for Initiative and Referendum Petition Sponsors (15 pages)</i>

The Secretary of State also compiles and publishes the Voters' Pamphlet which is sent to every voter in the state before every primary, general and special statewide election respectively. Ballot measures including supporting and opposing arguments, candidates' statements and party statements are contained therein. In 1970 these pamphlets were published in some 36 editions for the general election and 70 editions for the closed primary with each voter receiving the pamphlet for his party. Voters registered as independents, non-partisans, or with a minor party receive primary election pamphlets containing only information concerning non-partisan offices and ballot measures. County clerks are required to furnish to the Secretary of State labels with the name, address, party and precinct of each registered voter for mailing these pamphlets. There is a timetable which requires the smaller counties which have fewer changes to make following the close of registration 30 days prior to the election to furnish their labels first and gives the larger counties a few more days. The Secretary of State by statute must place the Voters Pamphlets in the mail "not later than the 15th day" before the primary and general election. Thus he has only 15 days to receive the almost one million labels from the 36 counties.

This gives the Secretary of State a list of all registered voters in the state and he makes these available at cost to candidates and free to parties.

This also enables the Secretary of State's office to provide "at cost" certain services for counties. These services include preparing the labels for the voters' pamphlets and compiling poll books, official lists of those qualified to vote in county-wide and special elections. Some 13 of Oregon's 36 counties by 1970 had contracted with the Secretary of State to perform these duties in Salem rather than in their respective county court houses, which lack the modern equipment available in the state capital.

The second additional use of the Voters' Pamphlet mailing list is to "purge" the voting lists. When pamphlets are not delivered by the post office, they are returned to the Secretary of State in Salem. He sends them back to the county clerks who must mail to each affected individual, by first class mail, a notice that something might be wrong. A reply card is enclosed so that the voter can reinstate himself or correct an error if one has been made.

Not all county clerks are happy with this system since the mail delivery is not always accurate. Irate residents who have not moved but whose Voters' Pamphlets were returned and who are challenged by local election officials at the polls or who receive the card in the mail tend to blame the local clerk who is simply following state regulations. Also, some postmen will deliver pamphlets to homes when the family still resides there but the

particular voter, for example a college student, may be permanently away and even re-registered elsewhere. Such a voter is not "purged" as he would have been under the older system wherein the person who failed to vote in two consecutive primary and general elections was stricken from the list. Also, a "helpful" postman may deliver a pamphlet to a voter who moved a short distance but possibly into a different service district.

The Secretary of State receives filings of candidacy for federal and state offices including those of state legislators, judges, and county prosecuting attorneys. He also receives the campaign financial statements of receipts and expenditures of candidates for these offices and of other persons and organizations responsible under the state laws. The Secretary of State not only reviews these reports and enforces the relevant statutes but he also publishes a summary report listing contributions of \$50 or more and the total expenditures. These reports run about 64 pages and are distributed to interested persons free of charge. A more elaborate "print-out" of all donors and other information is prepared and sold for \$250 a copy, a document valued by campaign fund raisers.

The biennial budgets of the Elections Division of the office of Secretary of State reflect the costs of the above services only generally since the Elections Division has certain other duties. This is probably sound administration since much of the election work is "seasonal" and combining it with other duties enables the staff to use its time more effectively. Also, the general "overhead" of office space in the capitol building and the time of the top administrators is not prorated among the several activities of the department. Another "misty" area of expense is allocating computer time costs. The following cost computations, nevertheless, use the total budget of the Elections Division.

The Biennial Budget for the Elections division in the period July 1, 1968 to June 30, 1970 was \$647,109, of which the net cost of the Voters' Pamphlets for the 1970 primary and the 1968 general election was \$186,504 for 2,064,220 pamphlets. There were 955,459 voters registered for the 1970 general election. The state Elections Division costs were thus 67.7 cents per voter for two years, of which 19.5 cents was used in publishing and mailing two Voters' Pamphlets, one for the primary and one for the general election.

## COUNTY SERVICES AND COSTS

The counties bear the major responsibility for registering voters and conducting elections. As has been indicated, the county clerks are designated by statute as the county elections officers and are under the supervision of the Secretary of State. These clerks are elected partisan officers in 32 of Oregon's 36 counties. Appointed civil servants are responsible in the four counties with home rule charters.

State directives are generally concerned with uniform and fair procedures. While some areas of controversy may exist between state and county officials as to the wisdom of some regulations, the Legislature has tended increasingly to confer additional powers on the Secretary of State. The Attorney-General has on occasion ruled against certain county practices not specifically authorized by law, for example charging fees for verifying signatures on petitions. The Secretary of State's office has also challenged counties' claims of expenses for recounting contested elections and caused some reduction in costs allowed.

The state prescribes that certain forms be used and sells them to the counties. The counties must supply the state with address labels for the Voters' Pamphlets. The counties must advertise in newspapers of general circulation each election and must supply sample ballots in reasonable number to the voters. The counties also have the obligation to establish voting precincts, secure polling places, employ election personnel, purchase essential equipment and verify signatures on petitions.

Once again, the costs are difficult to determine since in most counties the clerks have other duties in addition to elections. General administrative costs are often not prorated, such as amount of space in the court house, use of computer time, etc.

Also, many costly items are not within the county's control. They have no alternative but to verify signatures for initiative, referendum and recall petitions. They have no control over the number of offices up for election; for example, in 1968 there were 115 candidates for election as one of 32 delegates to the Democratic National Convention. Eighty-three were candidates for the delegates to be elected statewide, hence were on every ballot. There were 6 to 11 candidates for delegate in each Congressional district. Also, there was the possibility of candidates for precinct committeemen and committeewomen thereby requiring each precinct to have a different printed ballot for each major party. And state statutes require each winning precinct committeeman and woman be notified within 15 days of his election. With two Congressional districts, five legislative districts, partisan and non-partisan ballots, and ballots for other units of government (cities, school districts, port authorities, special service districts), the large urban county, for example Multnomah County with 1100 precincts, at least has a major obligation in conducting elections.

Some experiences of county clerks are summarized:

*Deschutes County*, a rural central Oregon county of 3,027 square miles with 13,535 registered voters, had a budget of \$20,000 for the clerk's office including \$10,000 for about one-sixth payment on two "Cubic" electronic scanning vote tallying machines. This county conducts

elections for the city of Bend but cannot for the city of Redmond because of an old city ordinance that has a filing date in conflict with the state's deadline. A special election will cost an estimated \$5,000 unless precincts can be combined which could bring the cost down to \$3,500-4,000. "Purging" involves some 900 names after an election year, and the postage and manpower costs are an important portion of this modest budget. Once the vote tallying machines are paid for, it appears election costs will be about \$1 per voter per year.

*Multnomah County*, an area of 424 square miles, is Oregon's most populous, with 555,700 people and 288,003 voters registered for the 1968 general election. In 1970 some 40,000 names had to be checked because of returned Voters' Pamphlets with postage both ways to and from the voter being paid by the county. About 100,000 signatures for petitions are checked each biennium for ballot measures, many of which are unsuccessful but the cost to the county of 12¢ per name is still incurred. Like all other counties Multnomah must supply labels to the Secretary of State for mailing the Voters' Pamphlet. Lists of voters are sold for \$500 a set. Political parties receive two sets free.

The Registrar of Elections must set up the ballots for all 80 units of government in the county, which can become complicated: the 1970 primary ballot had 38 sections and 150 candidates. He actually conducts the elections for the state, the county, the city of Portland, the major school districts and the Port of Portland. The county charges Portland School District No. 1 \$20,000 plus the cost of the ballots, the rural school districts \$25,000 plus the cost of the ballots, the Port of Portland \$10,000 plus the cost of the ballots and the city of Portland the cost of the ballots.

The Registrar of Elections instructs the special districts' election personnel in training sessions and actually conducts elections for the districts on occasion. His office has also conducted elections for teacher representatives for bargaining with school districts. His office supplies all of the official poll books for elections in the county.

In conducting elections the Registrar is responsible for establishing precinct boundaries, securing polling places, employing and training personnel and certifying the results.

His office is also responsible for maintaining certain public records and documents. The election division budget for 1969-70 was \$659,449 with anticipated revenues of \$74,500 largely from the fees from the other units of government. The breakdown of the budget is as follows:

\$291,974 — personnel services (largely for registration card maintenance and petition checking)

\$158,490 — materials and services (about \$65,000 for printing, etc. and \$95,000 for election boards and engineers who service the vote — counting machines)

\$208,985 — capital outlay (the last payment on the Coleman voting machines — about 20% of the cost)

Costs for public building space and general overhead are not prorated and assigned to this function of county government. It is not clear what costs will run once the Coleman machines are paid for. How should the costs be described? The net cost of the county election division seems to be about \$1 per resident or \$1.93 per voter. But if the costs are prorated on some other basis, for example, cost per candidate on the ballot per 1,000 voters, a different, but more useful figure may be developed for comparing costs between counties. If the capital outlay is disregarded, the costs run about \$1.31 per registered voter. But the far larger ballot, the vast amount of effort to purge the lists, the time-consuming search for zip codes and the extra burden of checking signatures on petitions since Multnomah County is the logical location for petitioners all tend to increase costs.

*Tillamook County*, located on the Pacific Coast, is sparsely populated with 17,930 residents within its 1,115 square miles. The county clerk operates the election division on “about” a \$12,000 budget conducting elections for the county, the Port of Tillamook Bay and the city of Tillamook. Although not conducting elections for school districts, small towns and special districts, the clerk does handle the complex legal requirements relating to elections establishing special districts and provides poll books at cost for all governmental units. The “purging” process involved checking 821 names after the 1970 primary with 696 names actually removed from the rolls. This problem is complicated by the practice of many citizens in this county of using Post Office boxes in the small towns for receiving their mail, hence their Voters’ Pamphlets. This makes it difficult to determine the current residence hence the eligibility for voting in school, city and special district elections because some voters retain the same Post Office box number even when moving their residence. The cost for each of the 8,177 registered voters is slightly less than \$1.50 per year. There is no “IBM” machine in the county in either public or private organizations and travelling the distance to the nearest machine over rugged country in November makes it unlikely that any process other than hand-counted paper ballots will be feasible for many years.

## Conclusions

Election administration can be complicated and costly, even when well-managed and honest. The administrative costs for a 1969 special statewide election on a single issue in Oregon cost \$224,643.33 for state and county expenses, or 39¢ a vote. The state government financed the

election, incurring costs of \$71,944.30 including \$56,349.44 for the Voters' Pamphlet. County costs per vote (not per registered voter) ranged from 62.5¢ in sparsely populated Harney County to 11.3¢ in Linn County.

The advertising costs for an annexation election in 1970 in Salem, Oregon, were \$500 because of the requirement of stating the boundaries in surveyor's terms. Since there were only 18 persons in six families eligible to vote, the legal notice cost alone was \$27.77 per voter.

The Secretary of State of Washington State in a study made in the late 1960's estimated that election administration on the state and local level cost about \$5 million for 1,655,970 registered voters, or \$3.02 per voter.

The Canadian federal government paid about \$1.25 per elector for national general election costs in the 1960's or \$1.56 per vote cast.

However comprehensively election expenses are calculated, they do not include overhead costs of state capitol buildings and county court houses and prorated salaries of elected officials and employees. But elections must be paid for. Usually they have, similar to the courts, a prior claim on public funds. And rightly so, for nothing is more central to the democratic process.

### **III. STATE FINANCED VOTERS' PAMPHLETS**

#### **Provisions for Official Voters' Pamphlets**

The Oregon Voters' Pamphlet is one of the unique features in the development of the "Oregon System" of political reforms which occurred during the Progressive Era in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was an outgrowth of the turbulent politics of gold and silver, the Single Tax and populism, civil service reform and the demand to end corrupt machine politics. A key figure in the Oregon movement was William U'Ren, a populist leader skilled in the political arts and greatly influenced by Swiss and other innovations and experiments in democracy.

Through the efforts of a joint committee of Granges, Farmer Alliances and labor unions, the Oregon legislature was finally pressured into voting affirmatively in the sessions of 1899 and 1901 to amend the state constitution to provide for direct legislation by the people. This provision included both constitutional and legislative initiatives and referenda by petition of the people and was adopted by an 11 to 1 margin in the 1902 election. The legislature in 1903 provided that a Voters' Pamphlet was to be made available to voters in a form which would include the texts of proposed initiatives and referenda and arguments for and against such proposals.

The exact origin of the idea of the pamphlet is not clear. Some attribute it to Swiss practices dating back to the sixteenth century when texts of measures to be voted on directly by the voters were published for the voter's information. Other scholars link the pamphlet to the traditional legal requirement of "due notice" which is often satisfied by causing details of the impending action to be posted publicly or published in newspapers of general circulation. Since such notices often escape the attention of many voters and of non-subscribers while only profiting the publishers, a direct publication of the notice by the government itself at public expense would be a logical development.

There is less doubt about the origin of the idea for a "candidates' pamphlet" in Oregon. Oregon had provided, in effect, for the direct election of the United States Senator before the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted nationally in 1913. This was done by a direct primary law passed in 1904 which was implemented by "Statement No. 1", a pledge by members of the state legislature to support the candidate winning the popular vote. In the 1906 election, Silver Republican Jonathan Bourne spent \$50,000 and distributed 1,000,000 pieces of literature to influence the Oregon electorate. Considering that some 85,000 votes were cast in that election, the cost was 59 cents per vote. Bourne's victory, among other things, seemed to threaten the newly adopted direct primary and the Oregon scheme for popularly electing United States Senators, thereby perpetuating the Senate as a millionaires' club. An initiative was passed in 1908 to control various corrupt practices and the 1909 legislative session made available a candidates' pamphlet as a companion to the measures pamphlet already authorized. A later effort in 1910 to authorize the state government to publish a semi-annual "gazette" on public affairs to break the power of the established press failed by a vote of 29,955 to 52,538.

While other states have followed Oregon's lead in the use of voters pamphlets, none have had the same faith in their value and a number have discontinued publication. Here in summary form is the scope of state efforts to supply the voters, directly and largely at public expense, with information on measures and/or candidates. A heavy "Western" pattern is evident. As O. Charles Press noted:<sup>1</sup>

"The relationship between the use of the publicity pamphlet technique and the insurgent progressivism of the early twentieth century is clearly evident. Eleven of the nineteen states using initiative and referendum for statutes have taken action toward the issuance of pamphlets on measures. No state without initiative or referendum has ever issued a publicity pamphlet on measures or amendments."

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<sup>1</sup>O. Charles Press, *Newspaper Advertising and Publicity Pamphlets* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1955) p. 7.



**TABLE 1**  
**STATE AUTHORIZATIONS OF VOTERS' PAMPHLETS**

<u>State</u>	<u>Measures Pamphlet</u>	<u>Candidates Pamphlet</u>
Arizona <sup>1</sup>	1912-	(none)
California <sup>2</sup>	1909-	(none)
Colorado	1913-(authorized but never issued)	1913-(authorized but never issued)
Florida	(none)	1913-1935
Massachusetts	1918-1950	
Montana	1909-	1909-1919
North Dakota	1918-1964	1913-1964
Ohio	1913-1949	(none)
Oklahoma	1908-1921	(none)
Oregon <sup>3</sup>	1907-	1908-(for both primary and general elections)
South Dakota	(none)	1919-1921
Utah	1917-1952	(none)
Washington <sup>3</sup>	1913-	1959-(authorized in 1959, first issued in 1966, general election only)
Wyoming	(none)	1911-1919 (none issued)

<sup>1</sup>Printed by the state and made "available" to voters at polling places by the counties, given to new voters upon registration, but not mailed out generally.

<sup>2</sup>Printed by the state and mailed by the counties to each registered voter along with a sample ballot.

<sup>3</sup>Printed and mailed by the state to each registered voter.

The size and format of the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet has changed little since its inception. By statute it is 6" by 9" in size. Type, according the original law of 1907 and unchanged for half a century, was to be "six-point roman-faced solid type or not to exceed seven-point body." Other details, perhaps archaically specific provided that the material was to be printed in "two columns of 13 ems in width . . . on good quality book paper . . . weighing not more than 50 pounds to the ream . . ." The pamphlet is printed on white paper and is stapled on the left in the fold. Oregon has combined the measures and candidates' pamphlets since 1934. Separate pamphlets are published for each of the two major parties for the closed primaries, and a third version containing only the information on measures and candidates for non-partisan offices is sent to persons registered as independents or in other than the major parties. The general election pamphlet is the same for all registered voters. To save money and

enhance reader interest by eliminating materials about candidates in other counties, the state publishes regional editions, usually one for each county although the less populous counties are joined together for some editions. In 1970 the state published 70 editions for the May primary election and 36 for the general election.

Current versions of the pamphlet may begin with detailed instructions on how to use the voting device in those counties which use a punch card or a sense-marking system. The usual pattern is first to present ballot measures according to their numbers as assigned by the Secretary of State. Statements by state party organizations appear next in sequence in general election pamphlets; then follows the candidate sections with non-partisan and county offices placed at the end.

## **The Measures Section of the Voters' Pamphlet**

The reader will find in the measures section:

*A. A statement explaining the measure briefly in simple terms.* This is drafted by a committee of three persons selected by the Secretary of State; one from the proponents, if any, and one from the opponents, if any. These two select a third member and notify the Secretary of State of their choice. This page also includes a reproduction of the exact form in which the measure will appear on the ballot. The wording of ballot titles has often lead to lawsuits over their accuracy and suitability.

*B. Arguments for and against.* If the measure is referred by the legislature as most in the period 1960 to 1970 were (79.7%), the resolution referring the measure usually provides for a joint Senate and House committee to draft these statements of one-page each signed by the committee. Many are "housekeeping measures" and no opposition statement is filed since, in fact, there is no opposition in the legislature. If the measure is on the ballot by petition, the sponsors of the petition are authorized to present their views in favor or their petition (which in a referendum would be a statement urging a "no" vote against the legislature's actions while it would be urging a "yes" vote on an initiative).

*C. Other arguments for and against.* State law permits any citizen to file a statement for or against a ballot measure. The first received will be given one page free of any charge. Other pages may be purchased. The 1970 charge was \$500 a page.

*D. The complete text.* The complete text of the constitutional amendment or legislative measure is then printed before the next measure is presented in the format just described.

The measures section of the Voters' Pamphlet can often result in many pages of print that only the most seriously involved citizen could be expected to read. As noted above, not all ballot measures are controversial. Some are constitutional amendments needed for certain "housekeeping" purposes, for example, restating the state boundaries to reflect changes in the channel of the Columbia River. Other measures can be of the most divisive character, pitting labor against management, region against region, sports fishermen against commercial fisherman, or motor carriers against railroads, to cite a few examples.

Arguments on measures have often been accompanied by illustrative material. For example, in the early years of the pamphlet several ballot measures dealt with efforts to secure state support for colleges and normal schools and it was frequently the practice to include pictures of campus buildings on the pages of the Voters' Pamphlet. On occasion, maps or other illustrations have appeared. In recent years, however, only different sizes of conventional type have been used. Indeed, the measures section of the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet is fairly forbidding visually, with about as much appeal as the "legal notices" section of the classified advertising pages of the average daily newspaper. This being the case, the names of prominent citizens who support a given argument are often included as the most eye-catching material available. See *Appendix A* for an example of the format of the measures section.

The Washington issues pamphlet, for many years similar to Oregon's in format but with no candidates' section until 1966, made more use of cartoons, drawings and photographs until it was "streamlined" by a professional advertising agency and a uniform pattern imposed on the "for" and "against" pages for all measures with no pictures or other illustrative materials allowed. The new format is 7-½ by 10-½ inches, stapled on the left fold and printed on a moderately good quality of newsprint with a green cover, appropriate for the "Evergreen State". An unusual feature is that the "measures" section composed of the ballot titles, arguments "for" and "against" and the complete text of the measure, is begun in the front pages and continued in the back with the candidates' material stapled in the middle. This permits a common measures' section throughout the state with regional editions created by the candidates' section inserts. Space is no longer sold to interested citizens and only official, authorized statements for and against are included. See *Appendix A* for examples of the old and new formats of the Washington Voters' Pamphlet.

The following table illustrates the patterns of use of the measures section of the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet. The table does not count pages devoted to the actual texts or the official explanations of the measures.

County measures which have been included in recent years are also tabulated but represent the text and explanation, not arguments for and against, which have appeared only rarely.

**TABLE 2**  
**MEASURES, ARGUMENTS, PAGES OF ARGUMENTS IN**  
**MEASURES PAMPHLETS IN OREGON FROM 1908 TO 1970**

Year	Election	Total No. Proposals Submitted	No. Passed — Defeated	Total No. Arguments Submitted	Total No. Pages of Arguments
1908	General	19	12-7	19	61
1910	General	32	9-23	40	90
1912	General	40	13-27	40	86
1913	Special	5	4-1	2	9
1914	General	29	4-25	45	52
1916	General	11	6-5	13	27
1917	Special	8	4-4	9	20
1918	General	7	3-4	4	4
1919	Special	9	5-4	8	10
1920	General	11	1-10	12	14
1920	Special	9	9-0	10	16
1921	Special	5	3-2	5	7
1922	General	6	3-3	17	22
1923	Special	1	1-0	3	4
1924	General	7	4-3	12	17
1926	General	19	10-9	28	37
1927	Special	12	4-8	18	26
1928	General	8	0-8	18	16
1930	General	13	4-9	19	27
1932	General	13	5-8	16	33
1933	Special	9	3-6	14	16
1934	General	3	0-3	8	10
1934	Special	5	2-3		
1936	Special	4	0-4	8	11
1936	General	8	0-8	14	23
1938	General	12	7-5	12	16
1940	General	9	0-9	8	12
1942	General	7	4-3	8	12
1944	General	9	6-3	14	16
1945	Special	2	1-1	2	4
1946	General	9	6-3	12	16
1947	Special	2	0-2	8	10
1948	General	11	6-5	15	18
1950	General	9	7-2	12	15
1952	General	18	12-6	30	33
1954	General	8	4-4	9	9
1956	General	7	4-3	12	12

TABLE 2 (cont.)

Year	Election	Total No. Proposals Submitted	No. Passed — Defeated	Total No. Arguments Submitted	Total No. Pages of Arguments
1958	General	13	8-5	18	21
1960	Primary	1	0-1	2	3
1960	General	15	10-5	23	24
1962	Primary	2	1-1	3	3
1962	General	9	7-2	13	15
1963	Special	1	0-1	3	5
1964	Primary	1	1-0	0	0
1964	General	4	2-2	7	1
1966	Primary	2	1-1	1	1
1966	General	2	1-1	1	1
1968	Primary	3	3-0	3	3
1968	General	7	4-3	11	11
1969	Special	1	0-1	9	12
1970	Primary	6	2-4	14	15
1970	General	11	6-5	18	18

A new area of controversy over the use of the Voters' Pamphlet for ballot measures appeared in early 1972. The 1971 Oregon Legislature had enacted an increase in the state cigarette tax. Before it could go into effect, enough signatures had been secured on a petition to postpone its effective date until 1972. Faced with this loss of revenue, the Governor summoned a special session of the legislature in the Fall of 1971 which, among other things, set January 18, 1972 as the date for a special election to deal with that one measure. A special Voters Pamphlet was prepared, with the ballot title, the official explanation of the measure, arguments both for and against, including the free ones and paid ones, and the complete text of the measure. Within days of the mailing of the pamphlets came cries of "foul" from both sides, charging that misstatements of fact appeared in the for and against arguments. The Secretary of State called a special press conference, recognized that there were inaccurate statements in the arguments, deplored them and claimed that he had neither the legal authority nor the responsibility to have cleared these up before the publication of the pamphlet. After the election the Secretary of State announced he was forming a special advisory committee to recommend legislation to provide for protection against false statements and thereby maintain the voters' faith in the integrity of the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet.

## Candidates' Use of the Voters' Pamphlet

Since the authorization of a candidates' pamphlet by the 1909 session of the legislature and its first use in the 1910 election, thousands of candidates have made use of this device for reaching the public. (See *Appendix A* for examples of candidates' pamphlets from Oregon and Washington State.) Candidates are not required to purchase space. Available first to candidates for state and federal offices, coverage was expanded in 1915 to include candidates for the party offices of national committeeman and national committeewoman and delegates to the national conventions. In these cases Oregon is almost doubly unique in having the registered voters directly elect their officers for the respective parties. The number of delegates is, of course, a fluctuating one depending upon the allocations made by the national committees. Oregon elects two delegates from each congressional district and the remainder at large. This, of course, uses space only in the primary election pamphlets.

In 1959 the legislature authorized candidates for county office to purchase space in the Voters' Pamphlet. The 1971 legislative session provided the same opportunities for candidates for city offices in cities over 50,000. These are non-partisan elections in Oregon. Political parties may purchase space in the general election pamphlets for statements by both the state parties and county central committees. Material for party nominees in the general election pamphlet must come via the party's state organization. Independents filing by petition may also purchase space in the general election pamphlet. Candidates for non-partisan offices, judges, district attorneys, and the state superintendent of public instruction, may purchase space for their statements in the primary and general election pamphlets.

There are some restrictions on the use of the pamphlet. The only pictures now printed in the pamphlets are portrait busts of candidates. These must have been taken within the past three years and cannot show "... a hat of any description, a military uniform, a police uniform, a fraternal uniform or a judicial robe." The Secretary of State is to reject "obscene, vulgar, profane, scandalous, libelous or defamatory matter." The latter legal provision grew out of a 1940 statement attacking Jews published by one candidate. At one time it was possible to purchase a page opposing a candidate provided proof was given the Secretary of State that a true copy of the proposed material had been given the candidate to be opposed prior to the submission of the material.

The 1971 Legislature made the additional requirement that each candidate must include the following information: "Date of birth, occupation, educational and occupational background, and prior governmental experience."

Candidates' fees and maximum space have been altered over the years. Presently (1970) candidates for President, Vice President, United States Senator, Congressman and National Committeeman and National Committeewoman pay \$150 per page. They are limited to two pages.

All other candidates pay \$50 a page and are limited to one page unless the office is statewide, which has a two-page limit. This represents a simplification of the fee structure which had had several different fees for statewide offices. It is also a sharp increase from the \$15 per page charged state legislative and national convention delegate candidates. It remains to be seen in 1972 if this has any impact on the extensive use made by delegate candidates. Candidates for the state legislature still pay only \$15 per page for general election pamphlet space.

While it would be interesting to know what percent of the total number of candidates eligible for space in the Voters' Pamphlets in the past sixty years (1910-1970) have purchased space, such data is almost impossible to obtain. However, it is possible to present a reasonably accurate picture of the past decade. Even then, minor errors in tabulation may arise in situations where: (a) some candidates secure both parties' nominations for an office, or (b) a person files for an office but withdraws or dies on a date too late to remove his name from the ballot and his material from the pamphlet, or (c) a nomination is made by the party organization after the primary for a position for which no candidate filed, or (d) a candidate files by petition as an "Independent" under certain circumstances. These are very exceptional situations and the data below and in Table 3 can be considered at least 95 percent accurate.

**Judicial Positions:** Oregon elects judges on a non-partisan basis. However, there are actually few positions with more than one candidate. Since the candidate with a majority vote in the primary is practically automatically elected, only a race with more than two candidates could result in a runoff election. Where there are contests, the Voters' Pamphlet is fairly regularly used. These gross figures for 1960-1970 indicates the scope of this use:

Number of Judicial Positions on the Ballot	178
Total number of candidates	234
Total number purchasing space in pamphlet	99

**TABLE 3**  
**CANDIDATES' USE OF THE VOTERS' PAMPHLET, 1960-1970**

OFFICE	1960 Primary	1960 General	1964 Primary	1964 General	1968 Primary	1968 General
<b>President</b>						
Number of Nominations	2	2	2	2	2	2
Number of Candidates	6	2	7	2	5	3
Number of Statements in Voters' Pamphlet	4	4	4	4	6	4
Percent Purchasing Space	66.7%		100%		100%	
<b>National Committeeman</b>						
Number of Offices	2		2		2	
Number of Candidates	6		5		9	
Number of Statements in Voters' Pamphlet	2		3		5	
Percent Purchasing Space	33.3%		60%		56%	
<b>National Committeewoman</b>						
Number of Offices	2		2		2	
Number of Candidates	5		3		5	
Number of Statements in Voters' Pamphlet	5		2		2	
Percent Purchasing Space	100%		66.7%		40%	
<b>Delegate to National Convention</b>						
Number of Offices	(50) 18R 32D		(40) 18R 22D		(51) 18R 33D	
Number of Candidates	191		193		208	
Number of Statements in Voters' Pamphlet	149		168		167	
Percent Purchasing Space	78%		87%		80.3%	



TABLE 3 (cont.)

OFFICE		1960 Primary		1960 General		1962 Primary		1962 General		1964 Primary		1964 General		1966 Primary		1966 General		1968 Primary		1968 General		1970 Primary		1970 General	
<b>US Senate &amp; House</b>		6 <sup>a</sup>	6 <sup>a</sup>			5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4
Number of																									
Nominations		12	12			10	10	10	10	8	8	8	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	8	8	8
Number of																									
Candidates		26	12			19	10	10	10	14	8	8	8	23	10	10	10	17	10	10	10	17	8	8	8
Number of																									
Statements		19	12			23	10	10	10	14	9	9	9	22	10	10	10	14	10	10	10	16	8	8	8
Percent																									
Purchasing Space		73%	100%			100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	96%	100%	100%	100%	82%	100%	100%	100%	94%	100%	100%	100%
<b>State Offices Elected</b>																									
<b>Statewide</b>		3	3			2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Number of																									
Nominations		6	6			4	4	4	4	6	6	6	6	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	6	4	4	4	4
Number of																									
Candidates		11	6			9	5	5	5	11	6	6	6	8	3	3	3	8	6	6	6	14	4	4	4
Number of																									
Statements		10	6			8	5	5	5	8	6	6	6	5	3	3	3	7	6	6	6	11	4	4	4
Percent																									
Purchasing Space		91%	100%			89%	100%	100%	100%	73%	100%	100%	100%	63%	100%	100%	100%	88%	100%	100%	100%	79%	100%	100%	100%

<sup>a</sup> There were separate nominations and elections for the U.S. Senate for the unexpired November-December period as well as for the full six-year term.

## County Candidates' Use of the Pamphlet

Since use of the state Voters' Pamphlet was made available to county candidates, a goodly number have purchased a page in the pamphlet. However, it is not easy to put this in perspective. Data on county elections are not centrally gathered and each of the 36 counties was solicited for ballots from the 1968 and 1970 primary and general elections. Because of county charter changes, elections for unexpired terms, recalls and similar variations, a slight error in the data presented below is a possibility.

OFFICE	NUMBER OF OFFICES
Commissioners	3 per county is typical, a few have 5. Some title one Commissioner "Judge". Total in Oregon in 1970 is 112 for 36 counties.
Clerks	32
Sheriffs	35
Treasurers	33
Assessors	34
Surveyors	26
Number of counties:	36

Other elective county offices also include 18 Recorders, 61 Justices of the Peace and 36 District Attorneys.

It is estimated that there were about 700 county offices on the election ballots of 1962, 1964, 1966, and 1968 combined. If there were at least two contestants for each party's nomination there would have been more than 2,800 candidates for the 1,400 nominations for the 700 positions. However, a closer look at these elections reveals no such competitive situation existed. For these four elections, the Secretary of State's office reported only 543 statements published in the primary election pamphlets and 536 in the general election pamphlets.

In the period 1962-1968 there were approximately 216 county "judge" (the presiding member of the commission with only minor judicial functions), and commissioner positions on the ballot. Of these, 149 were re-elected and only 67 changes took place: 32 changes of party holding these offices and 35 changes of officeholders but not of party. Based on a more detailed study of the 1968 and 1970 elections one could conclude that about 20 percent of these posts were not challenged in the general election and that most of the turn-overs in personnel were due to retirement, death or a decision not to seek re-election and not due to defeats in contested primary or general elections.

There were 64 elections for county clerk in the period 1962-1968. Only one of these resulted in a candidate of a different party being elected.

There was a total of nine changes in personnel, eight coming within the same party.

In more than 70 elections for sheriff there were 13 new sheriffs elected, five of whom represented a change of party.

In some 68 elections for county treasurer, six party changes and five candidate changes within the same party occurred for a total change of 11.

Nine changes in personnel occurred in the 64 elections for assessor plus five party turn-overs for a total of 14 changes.

Of the 43 elections for surveyor there were seven party changes plus two new surveyors from within the same party as their predecessors.

Competition for these offices is probably even much more limited than the above data indicate. Of the 25 percent turn-over in four election years, how many incumbents chose not to run for re-election but, based on the above evidence, probably could have won such re-election easily? A change in personnel whether in the same party or another party may still have involved no contest. If there was no contest, the investment of \$50 for a page in the Voters' Pamphlet may seem an unnecessary luxury rather than a bargain. A closer look at competition for these county offices in the 1970 elections was taken to determine more closely the competitive situation.

It can be concluded that in almost all (this writer estimates 80 percent) contested 1970 primary and general elections for partisan county offices at least one of the contestants purchased space in the Voters' Pamphlet. On the other hand, probably in fewer than 25 percent of the uncontested races was space purchased.

**TABLE 4**  
**USE OF THE VOTERS' PAMPHLET**  
**BY COUNTY CANDIDATES, 1970**

**Number of counties: 36**

<b><u>No candidate used pamphlet</u></b>	10 counties, general election
<b><u>for any county office:</u></b>	19 counties, Democrat Primary
	14 counties, Republican Primary

**Use by candidates:**

County Commissioner:	71 in primaries (40D, 31R in 27 counties) 74 in general (33D, 35R, 6I)
Clerk:	13 in primaries (9D, 4R in 7 counties) 12 in general (6D, 6R in 6 counties)

**TABLE 4 (cont.)**

**Use by candidates**

Sheriff:	12 in primaries (2D, 10R) 8 in general (3D, 5R in 5 counties)
Assessor:	8 in primaries (3D, 5R) 13 in general (7D, 6R in 7 counties)
Auditor:	2 in primaries (2D) 2 in general (1D, 1R in 1 county)
Treasurer:	0 in primaries 4 in general (3D, 1R in 3 counties)

**Content of Candidates' Pamphlets**

What can be said about the content of the candidates' section of the Voters' Pamphlet?

- Almost all candidates, well over 95 percent, include a picture of themselves on their page.
- Most candidates refer to their affiliations with civic, fraternal, political, religious, labor and other organizations.
- Many candidates include personal data on family, education, profession or occupation, length of residence, homeownership status.
- A number of candidates invoke certain party principles or traditions including the names of party heroes.
- Incumbents often refer to policies they have been associated with and positions they have held.
- Comments and endorsements from the press and organizations such as labor unions or bar associations are often included.
- A few candidates utilize a slogan which they repeat on the ballot in the space provided there. Some may also use it again in their campaign literature and advertising.

The content may vary from the primary pamphlet which goes only to those registered in the party of the candidate to the general election pamphlet which goes to all voters. For example, it was once fairly common for Republicans to mention colleges attended and fraternity or sorority affiliations in the primary but not in the general election pamphlet. Democrats may note labor union affiliations and endorsement in the primary but tone down such material in November. Of course, non-partisan candidates are not involved in this sort of catering to partisan interest, since their material goes to all voters.

Issues of the day also receive attention. A review of pamphlets over several decades does reflect then-relevant issues. For example, women's suffrage, prohibition, the Townsend plan and other old age pension schemes, support for the war effort of World War II, positions on state issues such as milk control or sales taxes and the current environmental protection emphasis can be found in successive epochs.

The 1948 study<sup>2</sup> by David W. Minar attempted to classify more specifically the types of arguments found in a selected sample of pamphlets. Some fourteen "types" of arguments were listed for argument on measures:

**TABLE 5**  
**ARGUMENTS IN WHICH APPEAL-TYPES APPEAR<sup>1</sup>**

Type of Theme	No. of Arguments	Percentage of Total <sup>2</sup>
1. Simple demand or appeal	38	42.2
2. Explanatory fact statement	59	65.6
3. Flat assertion of superiority	27	30.0
4. Promise of benefit	41	45.6
5. Threat of deprivation	48	53.3
6. Appeal to maintain status quo	9	10.0
7. Appeal to aid progress	13	14.4
8. Illustrative statement	25	27.8
9. Endorsement by legislature	4	4.4
10. Endorsement by groups or persons	30	33.3
11. Appeal to follow bandwagon	13	14.4
12. Appeal to altruism	19	21.1
13. Attack on opposition	22	24.4
14. Experience of other states	18	20.0

<sup>1</sup>An "argument" is one continuous body of printed material presenting a case for or against the passage of one or more amendments or measures. Corresponds to the unit "item" sometimes used in content analysis. (Berelson and Lazarsfeld, *The Analysis of Communication Content Preliminary Draft*, March 1948, p. 83-84.)

<sup>2</sup>Percentage of the total number of arguments in the entire sample of measures pamphlets examined. Total number of arguments = 90.

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<sup>2</sup>David W. Minar, *A Consideration of the Oregon Voters Pamphlet As An Instrument for Voter Education*. (Portland: Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Reed College, 1949).

## **Political Parties' Use of the Pamphlet**

The Voters' Pamphlet, along with detailed state legislation pertaining to party organization and operation, indicates an assumption that political parties are an integral, if suspect, part of the Oregon political system. Separate Voters' Pamphlets for the major parties, which as defined by state law has meant only the Republican and Democratic parties, are published by the state. These contain information on ballot measures and non-partisan candidates as well. The voter who registers as "Independent", "Non-Partisan" or as a supporter of a minor party will receive a pamphlet with only information on the measures and non-partisan offices. Since not all residents at a given address register alike, mailing to each household or "patron" is not adequate. Each Oregon pamphlet must be addressed to the individual voter.

Candidates for party offices are extensive users of these pamphlets. Not only do candidates for election as national committeeman and national committeewoman purchase space, but the mad scramble for election as delegate to the quadrennial national conventions results in use second only to legislative candidates.

The parties as organizations are involved with the pamphlet in two special ways. The state party organizations may purchase space in the general election pamphlets to present statements or platforms advocating their cause generally and listing their candidates specifically. County party organizations may also do this but few have. In 1970 the Democrats made a concerted effort in the 10 counties of the First Congressional District and succeeded in getting all 10 to do it. The content is left to the party. Also, the party must certify the information for nominees that appears in the general election pamphlet although the individual candidate is expected to pay the costs.

## **Administrative Aspects**

The publication of about one million Voters' Pamphlets for the May primary elections and another million for the general election is a substantial undertaking. As noted above, the format originally prescribed in considerable detail has changed little in the past 60 years. The measures section is fairly simply composed. The exact content of the proposed constitutional amendments and legislation are taken from the legislation or petitions directly. The ballot titles are those approved by the Attorney General and by the courts if the Attorney General's wording has been challenged. The ballot title can be important as illustrated by the controversy over the use of the term "federal" to describe a legislative apportionment scheme of 1956 which would have given each county

regardless of population equal representation in one House. The failure of one county measure that proposed to build a covered stadium on a piece of land known as Delta Park and which was widely publicized as the "Delta Dome" was attributed by some observers to the lengthy and technically worded ballot title, which did not contain the words "Delta Dome" and hence was not recognized by some voters as the stadium measure.

Measures proposed or referred by petition are attacked or defended by the organizers of the petition drive. Any citizen may present additional arguments either receiving one page free for the first to file or paying \$500 for a page. Statements on county measures cost \$250 a page. This material must be in 75 days before the general election and 35 days before a special election.

Candidates' material must be submitted 68 days before the primary and 70 days before the general election. Thus it is a common sight on "Filing Day"—the last day to file—to see candidates with the "Declaration to File" in one hand and, in the other their Voters' Pamphlet statement.

The candidate who files at the last minute does have two additional days to turn in his material for the Voters' Pamphlet. The candidate has some control over the ratio of printed matter to photograph to "white" space and variations are noticeable.

For the primary election, each candidate prepares and submits his own material. In fact, he does the same for the general election except that each candidate submits the material via his state party organization. Independent candidates, of course, do not. At the bottom of each page the Secretary of State indicates the source of the candidates information. In the primary the material is attributed to the candidate or his committee in a statement such as: "This information furnished by Richard Lenhart," or "This information furnished by Citizens for a New Tomorrow."

In the 1970 general election pamphlet each page with information on a candidate has the statement "This information furnished by the Republican State Central Committee; Irving Enna, chairman, Mrs. Charles Campbell, Secretary," or "This information furnished by the Democratic Party of Oregon; Caroline Wilkins, chairman, Don Orton, Secretary." Non-partisan candidates list their own committees. Party statements on the county level list the county party officers.

State law requires that the material be in the hands of the state printer 59 days before the election and the completed pamphlets be placed in the mails by the 15th day before the election, whether primary, general or special.

Oregon had 36 counties, 28 state House districts, 19 state Senate districts, 4 Congressional districts, and 21 circuit court districts in 1970. Some 71 separate editions, all containing the same information on statewide measures and ballots but with only the appropriate local district information, were distributed for the 1970 Oregon primary. There were 36 editions for the general election.

As noted earlier, the pamphlets are mailed to individual voters using labels supplied by the respective county clerks. The labels also include the individual precinct number, a most useful service to the voter. Pamphlets returned by the U.S. Post Office because the voter has moved are used to "purge" the voting lists of ineligible voters by procedures described in Part I of this monograph. Since registration is open until 30 days before an election, county clerks must move swiftly to send in the labels if the pamphlets are to be "placed in the mails" by 15 days before the election. The Secretary of State's office secures the labels from the small counties first since they will have fewer changes. Actual mailing of the pamphlets is done by a private firm selected by competitive bid.

The costs of the pamphlets vary somewhat depending upon the length of the ballot measures and the number of arguments and candidates' statements. Since the candidates, parties and some statements or measures return some fees and counties pay the actual costs of printing their ballot measures, the net costs will also vary. For the decade 1960-1970, the costs appear in Table 6.

**TABLE 6**  
**ANALYSIS OF THE COST TO THE STATE OF THE**  
**OREGON VOTERS' PAMPHLET, 1960-1970**

Year	Pages <sup>a</sup>	Total cost per pamphlet printed <sup>b</sup>	Cost of post- age per pam- phlet printed	Receipts from fees per pam- phlet printed	No. of pamphlets	Gross cost to state
1960P	489	13.0¢	2.2¢	2.1¢	867,100	\$113,056
1960G	306	12.5¢	2.5¢	1.6¢	911,805	\$113,722
1962P	381	7.9¢	2.4¢	1.8¢	910,410	\$ 72,262
1962G	338	10.7¢	2.5¢	1.5¢	905,000	\$ 96,912
1964P	621	14.5¢	2.9¢	2.6¢	855,630	\$124,139
1964G	355	9.1¢	2.7¢	2.1¢	892,725	\$ 81,223
1966P	429	8.6¢	2.7¢	1.9¢	1,000,600	\$ 85,770
1966G	340	8.5¢	2.7¢	1.6¢	930,000	\$ 79,118
1968P	561	13.9¢	3.7¢	2.1¢	1,007,325	\$139,612
1968G	337	9.4¢	3.4¢	1.6¢	1,023,000	\$ 96,518
1970P	442	12.9¢	3.9¢	2.6¢	1,041,220	\$134,282
1970G	344	12.6¢	3.8¢	1.3¢	1,006,660	\$126,839

<sup>a</sup> Not this many pages in any one edition, but this many separate pages had to be prepared.

<sup>b</sup> More pamphlets are printed than there are registered voters. Costs are inclusive of printing, binding, addressing, mailing and postage but do *not* include credit for fees received.



Additional costs that are not reported would include the use of the State Capitol office space by the elections division, the cost of receiving fees, editing and preparing final financial reports on the Voters' Pamphlets. There is a staff of 11 employees whose duties include other responsibilities not all of which pertain to elections. About four people are primarily employed for election work. Among those functions that do pertain to elections are the receiving and publication of campaign finance expense reporting, publication of official election results, receiving declarations and petitions for candidacy for state offices, publishing various instructions for candidates, parties, voters, court clerks, and sponsors of petitions, training county clerks in their state requirements and other duties.

The state of Washington has had experiences somewhat comparable with Oregon. The major difference has been that the pamphlet is only prepared for the general election. As has been noted, the Washington pamphlet has undergone some changes. Originally (first edition published in 1914) it was very similar to Oregon's but was devoted only to measures until 1966. More cartoons and visually varied, if not flamboyant, presentations were allowed. In 1958, pages presenting arguments "for" and "against" cost approximately \$800 a page. The 1959 Washington legislature, noting that only rarely did arguments appear on both sides, passed legislation enlarging the size of the pamphlet to 8-1/2" x 11" and provided for arguments both for and against each proposal. The presiding officers of the legislature, the Lieutenant Governor and the Speaker of the House, together with the Secretary of State, appoint persons to act as a committee to compose these statements, which are the only ones appearing in the pamphlet. There is no "objective" explanation of the measure as in the Oregon pamphlet. Every effort is made to include a state senator and a state representative on each side. The material was still often accompanied by maps, photographs and other illustrations.

In 1966 in Washington a candidates' section was added with a uniform pattern of layout being imposed. Since the former measures pamphlet was uniform throughout the state, one edition sufficed. With the addition of candidates, four regional editions are now published.

The late September blanket primary gives only limited time to print and distribute the pamphlet in time for the November general election. Candidates are required to have their material in by August 10 even though the nominees will not be known until later.

The measures' material is printed in a format which places the exact ballot title and the statements for and against in the front and the complete texts in the rear. The regional candidates' pages are inserted in the middle. There are no provisions for party platform statements on a

state or county level or for county candidates or county measures. Only statewide measures (constitutional and legislative referenda and initiative) and candidates for President, Vice President, United States Senator, Congressman, statewide state offices and state legislature are included.

Extra space is used to print maps showing legislative districts, applications for absentee ballots and other useful information.

In summary form, a comparison of the Oregon and Washington Voters' Pamphlets appears in Table 7.

## **Value of the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet**

It is most difficult to assess the value of the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet. The state legislature continues to appropriate funds for its publication and recently considered changes and expansions to accommodate candidates for offices in the larger cities. Criticism is seldom publicly voiced. Perhaps this is because incumbent legislators who have been elected by a system seldom challenge that system.

Oregon political figures take the pamphlet seriously and are concerned with the content of the space available to them. Considerable thought and effort goes into the selection of photographs and the printed copy. One legislator who also operates an advertising agency reports that he has prepared scores of statements for candidates of both parties. The candidates think of the voters' pamphlet as "advertising" while the legislator-advertising executive said he prefers to classify it as an "informational" piece. Whatever the distinction, the pamphlet is viewed as important enough for many to seek professional advice in its preparation.

If use is an indicator, then the candidates for national office, for state office, for national party offices including national convention delegates, contested judicial and non-partisan posts and, increasingly, candidates for contested county offices are evidence of the value of the pamphlet to the candidates. The state political parties make consistent use of the pamphlet and county parties may be expected to increase their use.

The non-controversial nature of many referenda inflate the total number of ballot measures and decrease the percentage which attract interests organized well enough to afford to purchase space. The \$500 fee discourages frivolous groups since any real interest group or citizen concerned with influencing one million voters would have that sum available should they not qualify for the free space.

To conclude that the pamphlet is viewed as important and valuable because it is "used" extensively may ignore the possibility that it is unimportant but too much of a bargain not to take advantage of. If cost

**TABLE 7**  
**A COMPARISON OF THE OREGON AND WASHINGTON**  
**VOTERS' PAMPHLETS**

	<b>Oregon</b>	<b>Washington</b>
First Measures Pamphlet	1908	1914
First Candidates Pamphlet	1912	1966
Elections Provided For	Primary, General, Special	General, Special
Editions	71 Primary, 36 General	4 General
Copies:    1968 General Election	1,023,000	1,247,600
1970 General Election	1,006,660	1,200,000
Gross Cost Per Copy including postage:		
1968 General Election	9.4¢	28.8¢ <sup>a</sup>
1970 General Election	12.6¢	20.0¢ <sup>a</sup>
Addressed To	Individual Voter	Household
Size	6" x 9"	8-½" x 11"
Provisions for Measures	Official explanation plus for and against (free), and pages for sale \$500; Complete text. Ballot Title. County measures also.	Argument for and against. Space not available for sale. Complete text. Ballot Title. No county measures.
Candidates	Can purchase space at \$100 or \$50. Can provide some variation in use of space. Picture allowed.	Can purchase space at \$18.75-\$200.00. Uniform format in use of space. Picture allowed.
Available To	Candidates for federal, state and county offices, and candidate for nat- ional committeeman and nat. committee- woman and delegates to national conven- tions.	Only to federal, statewide and state legislature.

<sup>a</sup>The greater cost per copy of the Washington pamphlet can be attributed to its larger page size and the higher quality of the paper used.

to the taxpayer is a factor, it would be theoretically possible to fix a price for space in the pamphlet which could be substantially higher than the present fee, more closely related to the cost of production and still be a "bargain" for the candidate or interest when comparing costs with other forms of communication. However, this could defeat the original purpose of a publicly financed pamphlet even though the imposition of some fee is accepted as legitimate in the same way that a filing fee is imposed. That any fee may discourage some candidates has not been the basis for any serious challenges to the fee schedule for filing or for space in the Voters' Pamphlet.

The attitude of the voters of Oregon was surveyed in the Fall of 1970 in a poll commissioned for this study by the Citizens' Research Foundation. The poll of a scientifically selected sample of 1,204 Oregonians was conducted by Richard Kennedy and Associates, Eugene, Oregon.

Six questions were asked:

1. "How thoroughly would you say you read the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet?"

2. "How would you rate the quality of information contained in the Voters' Pamphlet?"

3. "How useful would you say the Voters' Pamphlet is in helping you to make up your mind how to vote on ballot measures?"

4. "How useful would you say the Voters' Pamphlet is in helping you to make up your mind what candidate you will vote for in statewide or Congressional offices?"

5. "How useful would you say the Voters' Pamphlet is in helping you to make up your mind what candidate you will vote for in state legislative or county offices?"

6. "What suggestions do you have for improving the quality of information in the Voters' Pamphlet to make it more helpful?"

Before turning to the results, it should be noted that these questions can be faulted for begging a positive response since the inference is that voting, and hence Voters' Pamphlet, is a "good thing" in America. Critics might also point out that the costs to the voter of elections in general, of political campaigns and the pamphlet were not presented either, hence there was no way for the respondent to quantify his value of the pamphlet in dollar terms. That is, would he favor the pamphlet if he knew it cost him 20 cents, about 10 percent of the costs of administering elections, or that it was a fraction of the campaign cost of a candidate who perhaps could not afford to reach the electorate in any other way? Also, a survey could have been designed to establish or identify the degree of voter knowledge about candidates and issues traceable specifically to his use of the Voters' Pamphlet.

More significant might be the inference of the criticism that to be against the pamphlet was to be unpatriotic. The present survey could be considered more useful, if it could be shown not to lead the respondent toward positive answers. However, the Voters' Pamphlet can be considered valuable despite such a defect in the survey, because the pamphlet is addressed personally to each voter and is in the household several days before the election. The Pamphlet is a reminder and a challenge to become a voter, hopefully a better informed one. Thus the pamphlet could be considered at least as useful as a mailed sample ballot, as well as being a device to reduce campaign costs for candidates and groups.

The results of the survey are summarized in the following paragraphs. A more complete treatment appears in *Appendix B*.

In general, the higher the income level, the more likely is the respondent to have read the Voters' Pamphlet. Those who read little or none of the pamphlet were unlikely voters, political independents and those earning less than \$3,000 a year.

The voters are only moderately enthusiastic about the content. Favorable responses tended to come from the upper income, younger (21-29 years old) and white collar workers. More unfavorable were those with less education, blue collar workers and voters 60 years old or older. With respect to the usefulness of the pamphlet for deciding how to vote on measures, the same general patterns as listed above apply. There is the exception that the two income groups most favorable were the over \$25,000 a year and the \$7,500-9,999 groups. Less influenced were the political independents, low income and unlikely voters.

Apparently Oregonians do not feel that the Voters' Pamphlet has much impact on "major" races. Clergymen, blue collar workers and those with union members in the family are more likely to find the pamphlet a useful source of information for statewide offices. The groups which found the pamphlet a useful information source for lesser offices were those in professional-technical fields, 21-29 year olds and those in managerial-executive fields. However, a large number of the managerial-executive and professional-technical groups said it was of little or no value. Table 8 summarizes all responses concerning the usefulness of the pamphlet for deciding how to vote.

When asked for a suggestion on improving the pamphlet, by far the largest group, 29.1 percent, wanted the material on ballot measures to be simplified. About one in seven, 14.9 percent, wanted more accurate background data on all candidates and 12.0 percent wanted all material written by disinterested third parties. Less than one in twenty, 4.6 percent, suggested that it should be terminated as a waste of money.

**TABLE 8**  
**HOW USEFUL IS THE VOTERS' PAMPHLET IN HELPING**  
**VOTERS DECIDE HOW TO VOTE?**  
**(PERCENTAGES OF 1,204 RESPONDENTS)**

	<i>Very</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Little Or No</i>	<i>Not Sure</i>
Ballot Measures	40.7%	38.1%	18.9%	2.3%
Statewide and Congressional Races	15.8	43.4	36.5	4.3
Legislative and County Races	18.5	47.9	29.9	3.7

### Conclusions on the Oregon Experience

The Voters' Pamphlet seems firmly established in Oregon. Whether because of tradition or utility, it is heavily used by candidates and esteemed by voters for its measures section. A bill was passed by the 1971 Oregon legislature to expand its availability for use in elections in cities of 50,000 or more and to require certain factual information on age and experience from candidates. This is current evidence of the Pamphlet's popularity, at least among legislators and urban candidates. Additional evidence comes from a 1971 series of in-depth interviews of persons in the 18-21 year old bracket, which found 15 percent of them explaining that among the reasons they had registered to vote was because they wanted to receive Oregon Voters' Pamphlet. This was in response to an open-ended question which contained no reference to the Voters' Pamphlet.<sup>3</sup>

Use is most extensive on the statewide level by candidates but more relied on for information on measures and on county and state legislative candidates by the voters. Parties on a county level are making increasing use of it.

This tends to reaffirm findings of political scientists that the fewer the sources of information available to the voter, the more influential the media. As one medium of communication, the Voters' Pamphlet is especially helpful to both those running for and those trying to find out about local offices. The mass media cannot give a great deal of attention to every legislative district race or to the functioning of each county office. Candidates can seldom afford to purchase space or time from media which blanket a large population, many of whom are not residents of the candidate's election district.

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<sup>3</sup>Interview with David Yaden, Director, Candidates' Information Service, Portland, Oregon, October 13, 1971.

Also, there may be an advantage in having material pertaining to presidential and congressional elections in the same pamphlet with the less glamorous ballot measures, judicial positions and local offices. Evidence shows far greater voter participation in partisan, regular elections, than for elections held at other times and for non-partisan offices or special measures.

## **Costs and Benefits of Publicly Financed Voters' Pamphlets**

As has been noted, costs of voters' pamphlets will vary with the scope and quality of services provided. Oregon presently provides the maximum services of any state at a net cost of 9¢ per pamphlet. Oregon would increase this by a few cents per pamphlet if it adopted the size and quality of paper used by Washington state.

Economies of scale in printing the quantities that a large state, for example California, does would be offset to some extent by the need for various regional and local editions if legislative, county and major city elections are to be provided for. However, printing nine or ten million copies of statewide materials should be somewhat cheaper per unit than printing one million copies.

But as the study indicates, moneys are now being spent in the states in mailing sample ballots, precinct reminder cards and in purging the rolls of unqualified voters. If some of these funds could be applied to the costs of publishing a voters' pamphlet, these essential services could still be performed and, for an additional amount, a pamphlet published and circulated. Revenues from the sale of space could help reduce the additional outlay from the public treasury. This also has the merit of producing provocative, interesting and readable material since the purchasers of space will want the maximum readership for their investment.

One large item is that of postage paid to the United States Postal Service. A significant federal contribution to aid candidates and others to reach the voters without infringing on the rights and diversity of the states could be made by delivering the voters pamphlets postage free. No state would be required to have a pamphlet, no group or candidate would have to participate. Maximum local and individual freedom would be assured and the thorny question of whom to aid and by how much would be avoided.

What would be justification for other states to publish voters pamphlets as a form of public subsidization of campaign costs? The following is an attempt to summarize benefits and costs.

### **Benefits from Maximum Possible Uses of Voters' Pamphlets**

1. Assistance in Election Administration

- A. Serve as “legal notice” of election dates
  - B. Legal notice of ballot measures to be voted on
  - C. Legal notice of offices to be filled and candidates therefor
  - D. Method of checking accuracy of voting registers and for removing unqualified names therefrom
2. Information for the Voter
- A. Supplies the texts of ballot measures
  - B. Provides simplified explanation of measures
  - C. Tells how to secure absentee ballots
  - D. Explains how to use punch card or other unfamiliar methods of casting ballots
  - E. Gives the voter’s precinct number
  - F. Lists the polling place address in the precinct
3. Opportunities for Advocates to Reach all of the Voters
- A. Arguments for and against ballot measures can be provided free
  - B. Space for arguments on measures can be sold at nominal cost
  - C. Candidates and parties can be given space
  - D. Space can be sold to candidates and parties at nominal cost

A federal postage subsidy would no doubt stimulate the expansion of the number of states now providing pamphlets. States and counties now paying postage for sample ballots and other items would attempt to persuade their state legislatures to adopt the pamphlet device to qualify for the subsidy.

What would the net costs of a voters pamphlet be under the above plan? Each reader will have to gather data for his own state and locality.

1. What are the total costs now of state and local election administration per registered voter?

2. Which of these costs could be eliminated and the savings applied to finance a voters pamphlet by having the pamphlet substitute for these services? (For example, mailing out sample ballots?)

3. What would be the revenues from the sale of space at a “reasonable” cost per page? (“Reasonableness” cannot be determined exactly, of course. But, “do it yourself” by reviewing the filing fees now charged for filing for office, the costs of reaching all of the voters by any other means, the fees charged by Oregon, a state with about one million statewide voters.)

How then does one relate benefits to costs? It is suggested above that the additional cost of a voters pamphlet may not be very great. The benefits will include the obvious opportunity to develop a better informed citizenry. If government is thereby kept more responsive the costs for benefits received will be reduced. An unresponsive government can be quite expensive.



#### **IV. STATE PUBLICATION OF CAMPAIGN RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES**

Understanding the maze of federal, state and local laws and regulations pertaining to the filing of political campaign receipts and expenditures is almost impossible. In spite of the efforts of concerned civic groups, presidential commissions, legislative committees and the media, most otherwise well-informed citizens remain ignorant of the ebb and flow of political money. Even those jurisdictions which require filing of reports on the finances of political activities seldom do much more than "receive" the reports.

Oregon has taken a positive position on required reports by summarizing and publishing them in considerable detail. The published reports pertain to federal and state offices and statewide ballot measures. Included are statewide executive officers, the state legislature, judicial positions, district attorneys, state superintendent of public instruction, national party candidates, officers and national convention delegates.

Candidates personally, and their committees separately, are required to file as are all political committees and organizations and persons expending \$50 or more for political purposes. There is a legal distinction between "expense" and "contribution". The name, address and amount given by persons contributing or supplying an item of value of more than \$5 must be reported. All expenditures must also be listed in detail with receipts or cancelled checks. Interestingly, filing fees and payments for space in the Voters' Pamphlet need not be included as expenditures. Of course these are known and reported elsewhere.

These data are required of political candidates and groups within 15 days after an election. Candidates and organizations are required to report to the appropriate city, county or state official. Oregon cities and counties handle this like most public agencies in the United States, they receive the reports and keep them on file for a time where they are open to public inspection. Opponents and a few enterprising reporters from the news media may inspect them. (In Oregon opponents can peruse current records during a campaign.) A brief news report may indicate a few highlights, but the detail remains almost inaccessible to all but the most determined citizen.

In Oregon the Secretary of State pulls together the major items of the filed reports and publishes them. This has been done for over 30 years. Originally, the data were included in a biennial report covering the multitude of auditing, custodial and secretarial functions and only minimal data were listed. For over ten years now, a separate 8½" x 11"

report has been published for the primary and general elections respectively.

The edition reporting on the 1970 general election is 74 pages and contains an estimated 9,000 entries listing dozens of committees and thousands of contributors of \$50 or more. Total receipts and expenditures are listed for each candidate or committee. The details of the expenditures are in the files if one wants to know which public relations firm or which of the media received a particular amount.

Over 3,300 copies of the report were published for the 1970 general election at a printing cost of \$2,500. The cost of receiving, checking and filing the reports is not calculated as a separate cost within the budget of the elections division of the Secretary of State's office. That office does cross-check the reports and notifies candidates and individuals of discrepancies and errors. The staff will search out persons failing to comply with the law. In early 1971 legal action was being brought by the Marion County (location of the state capital) district attorney against some 80 candidates who had not filed reports and were theoretically liable to \$25 per day penalties.

Deficits and unexpended balances must be explained by supplemental reports updated every 60 days until the matter is cleared up. These reports are not included in the publications printed and circulated, but are on file. Perhaps it would be useful to include them as supplements to the next biennial report to gain better circulation of the information and to serve notice on these involved that public scrutiny awaits them.

In addition to the efforts to secure complete and accurate reporting and the publication of the post-election reports the Secretary of State has developed a computerized list of donors and the campaigns they supported. An essential document for public purposes, it is also valuable to political fund raisers who can secure copies for \$250.

But with all of these efforts, unmatched by neighboring states, there are still deficiencies in the public reporting. The lack of detail on the expenditure side is an obvious point. Which printers, agencies, stations, newspapers got what from whom? Also, merely listing political committees by their chosen names does not inform the citizen of much. These committees were among those listed in the report on the 1970 general election:

Better Business Climate Committee	\$2,525.00
Citizens Political Action Committee	\$82,709.57
Committee to Build a Better Oregon	\$1,294.91
Committee for Urban Progress	\$4,325.00
Concerned Citizens Committee	\$6,226.49
INPAC	\$5,231.30
Oregon Committee for Action	\$25,303.11

How can the citizen know what those are? He can contact the donors or the person listed as filing the report. Although the contributors' addresses are not published in the summaries, they are on file in the Secretary of State's office. But why not add a brief statement describing the issues and candidates of concern to the committee?

Nevertheless, the Oregon pattern of reporting does help the inquiring reporter, researcher and student. Names can be checked with city directories and occupational tie-ins discovered. The tangled web of interests can be slightly unraveled and contributions tied to roll call votes, public policies and constellations of power. Reporters and politicians can find grist for their mills in the published reports and files. Perhaps major cities and counties should also publish such reports, not merely receive and file them.

## **V. A TAX CREDIT FOR CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS: ANOTHER OREGON INNOVATION**

The most recent innovation in Oregon's long history of election reform is the provision of direct tax credit for contributions to partisan political campaigns. A citizen may deduct from his state income tax one-half of the amount contributed to political parties and their candidates or to committees and associations up to a total of \$5. A couple filing a joint return may deduct up to \$10. That is, a single person donating \$10 or more would be entitled to reduce his state tax by \$5. This is an offset against the actual tax paid, not a deduction which merely reduces the income liable to taxation. Thus the citizen owing \$400 in state tax who contributed \$10 or more to an eligible campaign would actually pay only \$395 in Oregon state taxes. There is a column on the tax return and a requirement that a receipt from the recipient be included with the tax return. Thus the state of Oregon has by law indicated that it is willing to forego a portion of state revenues to encourage widespread public contributions to political campaigns.

The results of the first year of operation of this tax offset, that is on returns filed in 1971 for income earned in 1970, are not official at the time of this publication. The best estimate from the Oregon Department of Revenue is that this will cost the state between \$100,000 and \$200,000 in income taxes. The number of donors availing themselves of this privilege is not yet known. The major political parties made some efforts to facilitate this type of financial support by opening accounts with bank credit cards to provide automatic receipts for use with the filed tax return. Since the Secretary of State's published reports of contributors do not list

those giving less than \$50, it will not be easy to ascertain any change in the number of donors, especially in the \$10 per person category where the greatest tax saving is possible. It is also not likely that there will be an accurate estimate of the increased cost to the state of processing income tax returns which include one additional item. The system provides the potential of pumping a million dollars or more of new money into political campaigns, especially if funds are solicited from new donors of modest means in both election and non-election years.

## VI. CONCLUSION

The decentralized responsibility for conducting American elections is a mixed blessing. But it does provide an opportunity for variations and innovations which can be useful in the constant search for the most appropriate system for a given jurisdiction. However, the opportunity is wasted if the more interesting and innovative features are not researched and the findings called to the attention of a wider public than the officials charged with the conduct of the elections.

This study, largely of aspects of the Oregon system, attempted to describe the state-county division of responsibilities for election administration and the costs thereof. The variations from urban to rural counties and the impact of increasingly sophisticated electronic equipment were noted.

Although no single cost-per-voter of conducting elections can fairly be used since the complexities of the ballots and jurisdictions vary so greatly, a combined state-local cost of several dollars per voter per election year is not unusual. Given this basic and built-in cost, the addition of a voters pamphlet at a token charge to the candidates and political organizations and a gross cost to the taxpayer of less than 10 percent of the ordinary election administrative expenses appears to be a reasonable expense. It has survived for over 60 years in Oregon and its scope was expanded in 1971. Washington state has also been extending its pamphlet's use in recent years. It is, obviously, popular with the legislatures of these states, and is widely used by candidates and parties. Voters are more restrained in their support but seem to find it useful for certain purposes and would likely be more enthusiastic if stylistic changes were made.

Public response to the new Oregon tax offset law designed to encourage modest political contributions from the bulk of the population will take a few years to develop. There is every incentive for both recipients and donors to exploit this new law. It seems unlikely that there could be any turning back once such a program has been launched. Observers of the political scene now have another reason to keep an eye on Oregon.

## APPENDIX A

### Examples from voters' pamphlets of Oregon and Washington State, measures and candidates sections

A sample page concerning a ballot measure from a recent Oregon Voters' Pamphlet:

#### Revised Constitution For Oregon

##### Explanation

##### By Committee Designated Pursuant to ORS 254.210

Measure No. 3 is a revision of the basic government document in Oregon, the State Constitution.

There are few substantial changes in the organization of government in this Constitution. However, it is more logical in its organization and obsolete and statutory material has been removed.

A brief summary of the various Articles are:

**Article I. Bill of Rights.** Clarifies the double jeopardy provision; applies the right to counsel, open trial, etc., to any case involving loss of liberty and allows the courts to review the substance of legislation or ordinances to see whether it deprives a person of any right, privilege or liberty.

**Article II. Suffrage and Elections.** Residency requirements would be set by law. The requirement that a person read and write the *English language* would be deleted—any language would be acceptable. Recall petitions would require more signatures.

**Article III. Initiative and Referendum.** Unchanged.

**Article IV. Legislature.** Membership of the House would increase from 60 to 65 and of the Senate from 30 to 35; the apportionment provision would say merely that it should be "in a manner provided by law but designed to achieve substantial equality of representation on the basis of population"; the procedures for enforcement would remain the same. Retains biennial session, but also allows Legislature to call itself into session. Removes prohibition on dividing counties in creating senatorial districts.

**Article V. Executive.** All of the present elected officers would remain; the Governor would appoint non-elective department heads, with Senate approval, and could remove them. The Governor would retain executive powers when outside the State. Line of succession would be President of the Senate and then Speaker of the House; from then on, set by law. Limitations of elective terms eliminated.

**Article VI. Judiciary.** This Article establishes a unified system of state courts headed by the Supreme Court, which supervises all other courts. Number of Supreme Court judges would be set at 7. Legal training would be required for all judges except county judges and justices-of-the-peace; these could be set by law. Judges would be elected as now.

**Article VII. (Local Government), Article VIII. (Public Officers), and Article X. (Governmental Activities)** contain no new material, but regroup existing scattered provisions.

**Article IX. Taxation and Finance.** The 6% limitation, earmarking of gas tax revenues and the county debt limit would remain. The first levy of a new taxing unit would not be subject to the 6% limitation provisions; future levies would be. The State is given greater leeway on cooperative agreements not involving general obligation bonds.

**Article XI. Amendment and Revision.** The alternatives are unchanged.

**Article XII. (Transitional) and Article XIII. (Statutory Provisions)** would be deleted after changeover to new constitution. Any amendments adopted since drafting of Measure 3 would be automatically incorporated. Specific material removed from the old Constitution will be made statutory, e.g., liquor by the drink, detail on administration of the veterans' loan program, bonds for higher education, etc.

SHIRLEY A. FIELD, Portland  
RUTH H. HAGENSTEIN, Portland  
TOM SCANLON, Salem

## Examples from Voters' Pamphlets

The format which is now used for ballot measures in Washington:

### INITIATIVE MEASURE 256

Official ballot title:\*

#### PROHIBITING CERTAIN NONREFUNDABLE BEVERAGE RECEPTACLES

An act prohibiting the sale or distribution of beer or any other malt beverage, or of any nonalcoholic mineral water, soda water, or other carbonated or uncarbonated beverage (commonly known as soft drinks) for consumption in this state in cans, bottles, jugs, tubs, vessels or other receptacles not having a refund value of at least five cents for each such container.

\*Ballot Title as issued by the Attorney General.

## Statement **FOR**

### The Problem and the Facts:

Americans waste over 110 million beverage containers daily. Washingtonians throw away about 2 million bottles and cans each day. Washington taxpayers spend well over \$1,000,000 annually collecting litter. Beverage containers are 80% of the permanent litter. The deposit system works when used—a Mt. Vernon bank offered two cents each and received 550,000 containers in one day (July, 1970).

### The Solution:

"We are convinced that the best answer to solid waste is recycling—finding a way to use the material again. . . ."

Ellison L. Hazard, President  
Continental Can Company  
May 11, 1970

"IT'S WORKING! . . . Reynolds has working proof with its anti-litter aluminum can recycling program . . . helping to clean up our streets and conserve our nation's resources. . . ."

Reynolds Aluminum Company  
Time; Sports Illustrated;  
June, 1970

" . . . the returnable Coca-Cola bottle is . . . durable, practical and very economical because it can make as many as 50 round trips in its useful life. The returnable Coca-Cola bottle is ecologically sound as well. Because, when a bottle keeps moving it is less likely to find its way into . . . the high-ways, beaches, and parks.

Coca-Cola ad,  
April 22, 1970

"Requiring a 5 cent deposit on every bottle or can . . . certainly will attract the attention of youngsters . . . who won't see bottles or cans in those ditches but just so many nickels."

Adele Ferguson  
Bremerton Sun, May 25, 1970

### The Cost:

"Wouldn't you rather borrow our bottle than buy it?"

Coca-Cola Bottling Company, 1970  
"Pepsi Costs Less in Returnable Bottles."  
Pepsi-Cola Billboard, 1970

### Vote "Yes" for Initiative 256:

Responsibility for a safe and beautiful Northwest rests with industry, retailers, and consumers. Excessive waste and ugliness have been tolerated too long. Vote YES!

"The 1970s absolutely must be the years when America pays its debt to . . . our living environment. It is literally now or never."

Richard M. Nixon, 1970

Vote YES!

Committee appointed to compose statement **FOR** Initiative Measure No. 256:

ROBERT H. KELLER, JR., Sponsor, Bellingham; RICHARD G. MARQUARDT, State Senator, Seattle; NAT WASHINGTON, State Senator, Ephrata.

Advisory Committee: HOWARD E. NELSON, Secretary, Washington State Sportsmen's Council; MRS. JOE E. WOLFF, President, Washington Federation of Garden Clubs; BILL CLEMENT, Owner, Al's SaveWell Food Stores; JACK ROBERTSON, President, Washington State Environmental Council; A. LARS NELSON, Master, Washington State Grange.

*Explanatory comment issued by the  
Attorney General as required by law*

**The Law as it now exists:**

There is no law in this state requiring that the sale or distribution of beer, malt beverages or non-alcoholic beverages be in refundable containers.

**Effect of Initiative Measure No. 256  
if approved into Law:**

The proposed act would require that beer or other malt beverages or soft drinks distributed or sold for off-premise consumption be in a container having a refund value of at least five cents. Violations of the act would constitute a misdemeanor. Use of containers in violation of the act would be a public nuisance and would be subject to abatement as such. Also, the state and local boards of health are authorized to suspend "appropriate licenses."

*Note: Complete text of Initiative Measure No. 256 appears  
on page 22.*

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## Statement **AGAINST**

**Five Good Reasons to Vote Against Initiative 256**

**1. It won't work.**

Deposits on beverage containers, which are only a small part of the litter problem in the first place, have never discouraged littering and there is no reason to think they will now.

**2. It is unreasonable, unrealistic and leaves vital questions unanswered.**

Why require deposits on paper cups with soft drinks in them but not on paper cups with coffee in them? Why on grocery cartons of soft drinks but not on the same cartons of milk? Why on fruit juice cans and not on vegetable juice cans? Where are deposits collected? Where are refunds given? Who collects all the cans that are of no value to anybody after they are used? And who pays for hauling them away to the garbage dump?

**3. It unfairly penalizes people who don't litter.**

Citizens who use garbage cans and litter barrels would have to save their trash and cart it someplace for refunds.

**4. It threatens another devastating blow to Washington's economy.**

The result would be higher prices, lower sales, reduced employment and reduced tax revenue for needed services. The people should not have to pay the consequences for a measure whose ineffectiveness is predictable.

**5. It discriminates against certain products and the people who buy them.**

In fact, in a paradox that is hard to understand, it is especially aimed at products that NOW are available in deposit containers by customer choice.

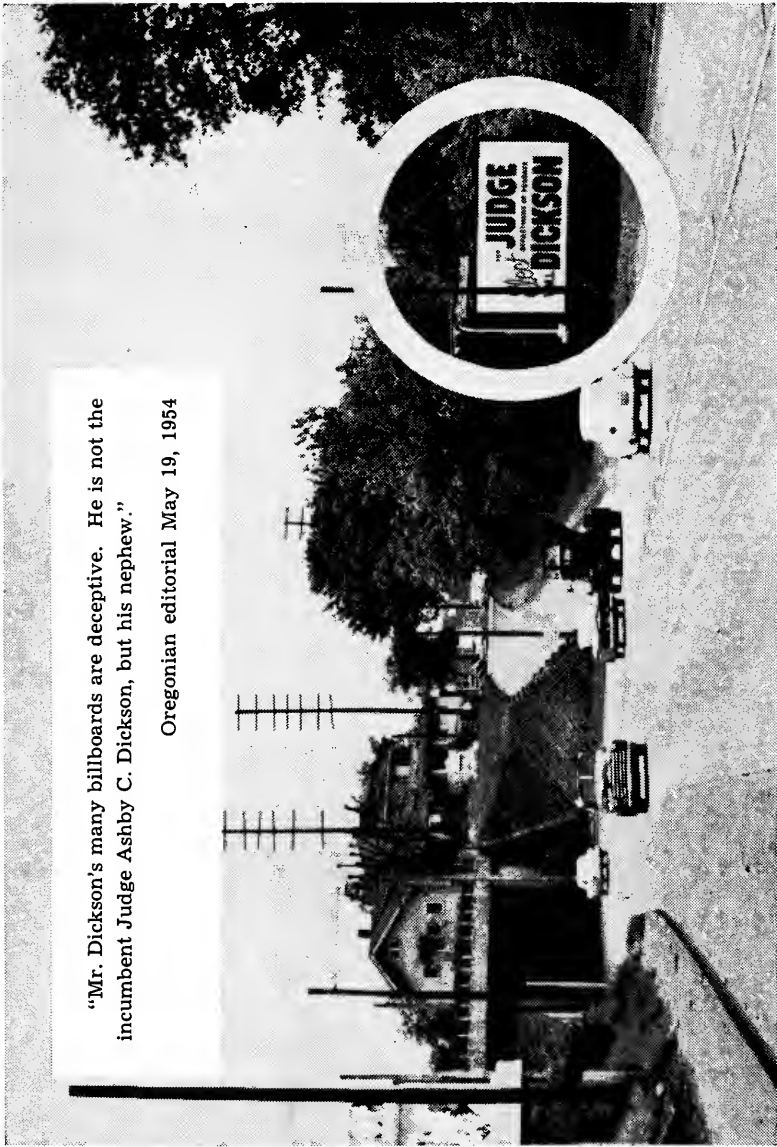
*Committee appointed to compose statement **AGAINST** Initiative Measure No. 256:*

MERV HENDERSON, Secretary-Treasurer, Retail Clerks' Union, Local #1105, Seattle; E. T. (MOOSE) JONES, President, King County Labor Council; WES ROBINSON, Director, Citizens Against Initiative #256, 10039 N.E. 28th Place, Bellevue.

**Examples from Voters' Pamphlets**

An example of the type of material once permitted to be placed in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet, this page is from a 1954 pamphlet:

**DID YOU GET FOOLED?**



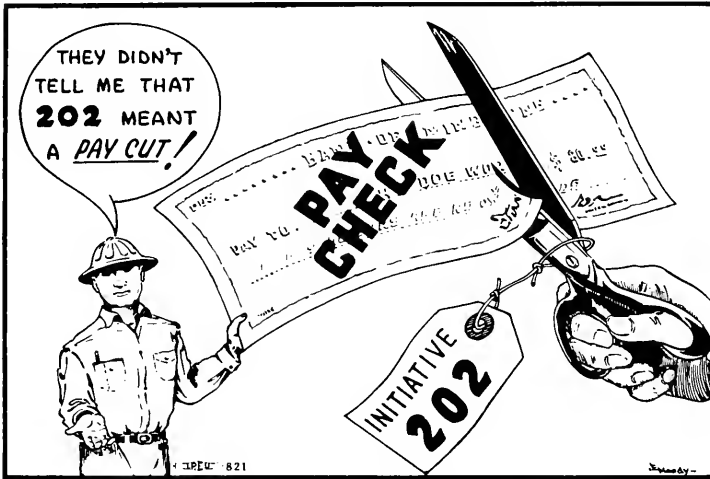
(This information furnished by Mahoney for Circuit Judge Committee.)



## Examples from Voters' Pamphlets

Cartoons were once used in the Washington State measures pamphlet. This page is from the 1958 booklet:

### Argument *AGAINST* Initiative Measure No. 202



**No! They Don't Tell You That 202 Means "Pay Cut."  
Neither Did They Tell You WHO the REAL Backers of  
Initiative 202 Are!**

★ ★ ★

**All Wage Earners Should Be Against Initiative 202.  
For These Vital Reasons . . . Study Them.**

1. **INITIATIVE 202 IS SIMPLY INITIATIVE 198 ALL OVER AGAIN!** The same old "Union Busting Deal" . . . To weaken responsible Trade Unions . . . To cut wages and destroy decent working conditions.
2. **INITIATIVE 202 DOES NOT STRENGTHEN UNIONS,** nor does it give any individual the right to work, and it will destroy existing jobs, not create jobs.
3. **RESPONSIBLE AND DEMOCRATIC UNIONISM** cannot exist under the provisions of Initiative 202. Unions will fall apart and their strength destroyed by those who do not believe in genuine collective bargaining.
4. **A WORKER WITHOUT A UNION BECOMES A MAN STANDING ALONE** against big bosses who will "Write the Ticket" on their terms. He becomes "Free" to compete for "Fewer" jobs, "Less Pay" and "Poorer Working Conditions!"
5. **INITIATIVE 202 ALSO STRIKES THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE.** (If you voted against the law which the majority voted for, 202's sponsors would say you don't need to obey it.) The Taft-Hartley Law requires a union to represent all workers in a plant, non-members as

## Examples from Voters' Pamphlets

Present format of the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet allows only portrait photos of candidates:

**Nonpartisan**

**JAMES L. (JIM) MEANS**

**For Judge of the District Court  
Multnomah County, Department No. 1**



**"LAW ABIDING PEOPLE  
HAVE RIGHTS, TOO!"**

James L. Means, with many years experience as a trial lawyer, believes people are entitled to qualified judges on the District bench, as well as in the higher courts.

Mr. Means believes judges should consider the rights of the forgotten man (the law abiding citizen) as well as protect the "civil rights" of criminals! This philosophy is expressed in the above slogan which will appear on the ballot.

Mr. Means believes litigants are entitled to try their cases before a Judge with a background of actual experience as a lawyer, and one particularly skilled in trial work.

James L. Means' law offices are at 511 Oregon Bank Bldg. in Portland. He is a member of the Oregon State Bar, B.P.O.E., and is a graduate of Northwestern College of Law.

**JAMES L. MEANS FOR DISTRICT JUDGE COMMITTEE  
DOROTHY DINGER, Chairman**

---

(This information furnished by James L. Means for District Judge Committee)

## Examples from Voters' Pamphlets

The Washington State Pamphlet also includes only small photos of candidates:



### State Representative VOTE FOR ONE IN EACH POSITION



**John M.  
ROSELLINI**

Democrat  
Position No. 1  
34th Leg. Dist.  
King, part

Incumbent John Rosellini is a graduate of Franklin H.S., B.A. degree from Washington State University, and studied law at Gonzaga University. Married, one daughter, two sons. Although only 31 years old, and one of the Legislature's youngest members, John is seeking his third term. He is a veteran of two regular and three special sessions of the Legislature. The measures John has sponsored in past sessions relate to the continuing needs of the citizens of our community, especially in the areas of education, property tax relief, aid to the elderly, and the rights and responsibilities of young people.

**Floyd Edward  
MURPHY**

Republican  
Position No. 1  
34th Leg. Dist.  
King, part

Candidate did not submit photograph and statement for publication.



**Dave  
CECCARELLI**

Democrat  
Position No. 2  
34th Leg. Dist.  
King, part

Lifelong resident, 34th District, Dave was born in West Seattle 37 years ago. 1951 grad of West Seattle High. BCS in Commerce and Finance, Seattle U. Commercial and industrial sales, Quadrant Company. Married, four sons. Active in civic, church and youth organizations. Dave works for a balanced government climate to promote a vigorous and growing economy and social progress for all. Ceccarelli co-sponsored legislation that set up the new Community College concept as well as community Mental Health centers. Will work for business and industrial growth to develop employment, a realistic tax base, elimination of special school levies, tax relief for senior citizens, efficient government administration.



**Glen O.  
BISHOP**

Republican  
Position No. 2  
34th Leg. Dist.  
King, part

I have been a resident of Seattle for the past 58 years, where I attended grade school, high school and the University of Washington.

Served with Washington's own Forty-first Division, in the South Pacific, retiring as Lt. Colonel infantry. Have been a member of Branch 79, Seattle Letter Carriers, Branch 61, of Postal Supervisors Union, until retirement. Am an elder in the Queen Anne Christian Church.

I believe in responsible government; strict penalties for school disruption, drug abuse, marijuana sales; and no income tax.

## APPENDIX B

**Some results of a poll of 1,204 Oregonians concerning attitudes towards the Voters' Pamphlet conducted in the Fall of 1970 by Richard Kennedy and Associates, Eugene, Oregon.**

**QUESTION 1: How thoroughly would you say you read the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet?**

	All Or Most	Some	Little Or None	Not Sure
Total Response	44.9%	39.1%	14.7%	1.3%
Political Party:				
Democrat	44.1	39.4	14.7	1.8
Republican	47.5	38.0	13.6	0.9
Other	22.2	50.0	26.8	1.0
Voter Status:				
Likely Voter	48.5	39.3	11.9	0.3
Unlikely Voter	27.7	38.6	27.7	6.0
Income:				
Under \$3,000	26.3	44.8	26.3	2.6
\$3,000-4,999	32.6	42.1	24.3	1.0
\$5,000-7,499	28.2	42.2	25.5	4.1
\$7,500-9,999	40.5	43.3	15.2	1.0
\$10,000-14,999	45.3	45.0	7.8	1.9
\$15,000-24,999	63.3	30.4	4.3	2.0
\$25,000 and Over	50.0	40.0	7.0	3.0

**Poll of attitudes towards the Voters' Pamphlet**

**QUESTION 2:** How would you rate the quality of information contained in the Voters' Pamphlet?

	Excellent	Pretty Good	Only Fair	Poor	Not Sure
Total Response	10.5%	58.5%	22.3%	2.5%	6.2%
Political Party:					
Democrat	8.5	55.6	28.8	1.9	5.2
Republican	12.7	62.9	15.6	2.9	5.9
Other	12.5	50.1	12.5	6.2	18.7
Voter Status:					
Likely Voter	11.6	60.0	22.1	1.9	4.4
Unlikely Voter	5.4	50.0	24.3	5.4	14.9
Income:					
Under \$3,000	5.2	55.3	27.3	6.1	6.1
\$3,000-4,999	8.3	65.3	20.1	1.0	5.3
\$5,000-7,499	14.9	58.6	19.5	2.4	4.6
\$7,500-9,999	13.5	63.0	19.6	1.0	2.9
\$10,000-14,999	9.5	58.8	23.0	2.4	6.3
\$15,000-24,999	9.1	70.7	18.2	1.0	1.0
\$25,000 and Over	10.0	50.0	30.0	8.0	2.0

**Poll of attitudes towards the Voters' Pamphlet**

**QUESTION 3:** How useful would you say the Voters' Pamphlet is in helping you to make up your mind how to vote on ballot measures?

	Very	Somewhat	Little Or No	Not Sure
Total Response	40.7%	38.1%	18.9%	2.3%
Political Party:				
Democrat	41.0	36.8	20.3	1.9
Republican	42.0	40.5	14.6	2.9
Other	25.0	25.0	50.0	0.0
Voter Status:				
Likely Voter	42.5	38.7	17.1	1.7
Unlikely Voter	30.1	37.0	27.4	5.5
Income:				
Under \$3,000	21.2	42.4	30.3	6.1
\$3,000-4,999	31.6	47.3	15.8	5.3
\$5,000-7,499	31.7	36.6	24.4	7.3
\$7,500-9,999	52.9	35.3	10.8	1.0
\$10,000-14,999	41.3	36.5	20.0	2.2
\$15,000-24,999	40.9	50.0	8.1	1.0
\$25,000 and Over	60.5	30.0	8.5	1.0

**Poll of attitudes towards the Voters’ Pamphlet**

QUESTION 4: How useful would you say the Voters’ Pamphlet is in helping you to make up your mind what candidate you will vote for in statewide or congressional offices?

	Very	Somewhat	Little Or No	Not Sure
Total Response	15.8%	43.4%	36.5%	4.3%
Political Party:				
Democrat	16.0	48.6	29.7	5.7
Republican	17.1	37.1	42.9	2.9
Other	6.3	50.3	37.5	5.9
Voter Status:				
Likely Voter	16.6	42.6	37.5	3.3
Unlikely Voter	11.0	43.8	35.6	9.6
Income:				
Under \$3,000	15.2	39.3	39.4	6.1
\$3,000-4,999	17.8	50.6	26.3	5.3
\$5,000-7,499	18.2	50.1	26.8	4.9
\$7,500-9,999	13.5	50.1	33.5	2.9
\$10,000-14,999	14.3	47.6	34.9	3.2
\$15,000-24,999	12.7	37.3	49.0	1.0
\$25,000 and Over	10.0	40.0	45.0	5.0

## Poll of attitudes towards the Voters' Pamphlet

QUESTION 5: How useful would you say the Voters' Pamphlet is in helping you to make up your mind what candidates you will vote for in state legislative or county offices?

	Very	Somewhat	Little Or No	Not Sure
Total Response	18.5%	47.9%	29.9%	3.7%
Political Party:				
Democrat	24.8	50.9	20.5	3.8
Republican	15.6	45.3	35.7	3.4
Other	6.2	50.1	37.5	6.2
Voter Status:				
Likely Voter	19.3	48.4	29.8	2.5
Unlikely Voter	12.9	47.5	30.0	9.6
Income:				
Under \$3,000	15.2	42.3	36.4	6.1
\$3,000-4,999	21.1	47.3	26.1	5.5
\$5,000-7,499	22.0	43.8	24.4	9.8
\$7,500-9,999	22.4	50.0	24.7	2.9
\$10,000-14,999	15.9	52.3	30.2	1.6
\$15,000-24,999	14.2	45.4	36.4	4.0
\$25,000 and Over	10.0	40.0	48.0	2.0



## NOTES







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